













# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at*

P A R I S;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople of  
the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and dis-  
covering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Chris-  
tian Courts, (especially of that of France) from  
the Year 1637 to the Year 1682.

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*Written originally in Arabic, Translated into Italian, and from thence  
into English.*

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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A SPY AT PARIS.



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### BOOK I.

LETTER I.—*MAHMUT the Arabian at Paris, to MEHEMET, an exiled Eunuch, at Grand Cairo in Egypt.*

WHETHER it be an effect of thy melancholy letter, or of my own ugly constitution, I know not, but I am lately grown very desperate, and resolved upon death; I am tired with whatsoever I have yet enjoyed in this world, and I expect no greater satisfaction should I live a thousand years. Every pleasure appears but the same in different forms; and they all agree in leaving us afflicted with the same or greater pain than they found us in, which is a sufficient argument to a man of spirit, that he ought to die in pursuit of his own ease.

We walk here on earth in an enchanted circle of shadows and mockeries; our whole life is full of vanity and mistake; every man's fortune is but a repetition of that of Ixion; we court clouds instead of divinities, and our most charming fruitions consist in emptiness.

Indeed all this visible world is but a mighty pageant, a pompous emblem, a gaudy type of that invisible region which is the mother of spirits. Oh ! that it were lawful for a mortal to release his soul from its long irksome exile here below, and send it home to its native country, the kingdom of divine ideas ! then would I soon launch forth into the unknown abyss : But we must be resigned, and not think much to bear our several destinies, and patiently wait for the appointed hour of transmigration, for it is in vain to think of hastening or delaying our fate ; besides, for ought we know, the next station may be worse than this ; every thing is full of mysterious darkness, and therefore, pr'ythee Mehemet, let thou and I lay aside all fruitless care and sadness, be as merry as will consist with the wisdom of a man, and when thou findest this black distemper approaching thee, run away from it, and shelter thyself in good company ; arm thyself with wine and music against the sullen demon of melancholy ; but I counsel thee to avoid women, for they will but increase thy malady.

It is one of that sex has given me this fit of grief, a woman that I have loved too much ; but she is ungrateful, false, and cruel ; she takes a singular delight in cheating me with false shows of love and friendship, and then in undeceiving me again. The same tongue which at some times will drop soft, kind, obliging words, at another season shall utter nothing but contempt, defiance, and scorns.

Thou wilt wonder that a man of my age should be concerned with any passion for women. I tell thee, my friend, it is impossible for me to banish from my heart an affection which has possessed it for above these thirty years. The love of that sex is riveted in our nature, and our blood must first grow cold, and be congealed by

death, before this flame can be extinguished ; nay, many times it is more fervent, though of a short duration, in our latest hours than in our prime ; as when the oil which feeds a lamp is almost spent, the startled flame begins to rouse itself and burn afresh, as if it would fain subsist a little longer, though on the very dregs of its accustomed fuel ; it crackles and flashes with greater noise and lustre than before, but presently expires ; so does this amorous fire, when we are nearest 'o our dissolution, begin to trouble us most, and makes our soul to blaze with fevers of desire and grief, knowing its period is near.

Mehemet, let thou and I keep our affections for the beautiful and constant daughters of paradise, who will never cast an eye on any man beside their own. Doubtless this is part of supreme felicity.

Paris, 14th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1673.

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II.—*To the SELICTAR AGA, or Sword-Bearer to the Sultan.*

THIS has been a terrible campaign to the Germans and their confederates ; for when they first took the field in the spring, their forces amounted to sixty thousand men, but now at the breaking up, and going to their winter quarters, they could not number above twenty thousand ; so that they have lost two parts in three of their army ; whilst the French prosper and are victorious, taking their towns and castles, subduing whole provinces to the obedience of this invincible monarch, and extending his conquests far and wide through the French-Compte, Lorraine, Alsace, Brabant, Flanders, Catalonia, and even to the isles of the sea.

I have formerly given an account to the ministers of

the Porte of all the most remarkable actions performed in these several quarters; there remains only a late famous victory gained by the Marschal de Turenne, near Strasburgh, of which I cannot give thee the particulars, neither is it very material; but in brief I shall acquaint thee, that through the connivance of the Elector of Mentz and the citizens of Strasburgh, the confederate forces, amounting to forty thousand men, got passage over the Rhine, and had like to have surpris'd the French, who were not above twenty-five thousand strong; but the vigilance and good conduct of Monsieur Turenne prevented their design, and turned the fortune of war to his own side. This wise general considering the unequal numbers of his enemies, did not think it fit to engage his whole army at once with theirs, lest he should be oppress'd with their multitude, being almost double in number to his; but he fought them by detachments, setting upon them in their march; and this succeeded very fortunately, for he was in possession of the most advantageous posts and passes of the country. He lined the hedges with some of his men, who gall'd the enemies as they march'd along the roads; he plant'd others on the declivity of hills, under the covert of thickets, which grew on each side of deep ways, through which the enemy must pass; these annoy'd them sorely from their shady heights, whilst some attack'd them in the front. Thus by gradual skirmishes he cut off many thousands, and strew'd the roads with dead bodies, till the confederates perceiving how they were embarrass'd on all hands, took the advantage of a certain wood, where they retrench'd themselves, and stood in their own defence a long time; but the French at length forc'd them from this shelter, and then began a formal battle, which prov'd bloody to the imperialists, for they had above three thousand of their men killed

upon the spot, besides those that were wounded and taken prisoners; they lost also ten pieces of their cannon, and the ground was covered with cuirasses, halberts, pikes, muskets, swords, and all sorts of arms, which the confederates left behind in their precipitate retreat by night; for so general a consternation had seized the minds of the soldiery, that all the rhetoric of the officers was not sufficient to stop their flight. In this battle the Marechal de Turenne had his horse killed under him by a musket-shot, but he received no hurt himself.

He is a fortunate and wise general, knowing how to serve himself of all opportunities and advantages of time, place, and other circumstances which offer themselves to a man's consideration in time of war; he never attacks an enemy without being sure of getting the victory, or at least of retiring securely and honourably from the combat. The French use to say, "That if the Prince of Conde had an alloy of Turenne's earth in his temper, and Turenne had the Prince of Conde's fire, there would not be two such other generals in the whole world."

Serene age, nature has dispensed her gifts in thrifty parcels; every man has his genial excellency; and it is rare to find one whose faults do not counterpoise his perfections. May Heaven turn the right scale for thee and me.

Paris, 2d of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1634.

### III.—To MIRMADOLIN, *Santon of the Vale of Sidon.*

Now I will indulge sacred thoughts, and follow the motions of wisdom; I will obey the inspirations of my better genius, and discourse of things not fit for vulgar ears; I will not cast my holy things to dogs, nor expose



that which is precious to the feet of swine. Let the smith labour at his anvil, and hammer the metal into what form he pleases ; his eye is wasted with the perpetual vapour of the fire ; and as to intellectual things, he is stark blind : So is the carpenter who works in timber, and hews away the knobs and roughnesses with his axe ; he saws it into planks, and afterwards smooths it with his plane ; he marks out his work with line and plummet, and measures it with rule and compass ; he fits one piece to another, and when all is polished and prepared to his mind, he joins them together in a frame, and rejoices in the success of his industry and skill.

These and all other mechanics bend their mind to their work ; that is the scope of their ambition ; and when they have done, they eat and drink the fruit of their labours ; they study not the sayings of famous men, nor penetrate into the mysteries of dark parables ; they have no inclination to seek out the wisdom of the ancients, or to meditate on the instructions of sages ; therefore, with such as these I will not converse, or talk of the way of perfection ; nor yet with wrestlers, fencers, or soldiers ; I have as little hopes to prevail on mariners, lawyers, and courtiers, or on any that are entangled in worldly affairs ; but I address myself to a good and knowing man, who understands himself, and what his business is in this world ; who comprehends the force of the chains which entangle his soul in this mortal life, and is instructed in the method of disengaging himself. To such an one I speak, and not to others, who lie snoring in their lethargy, and will not be waked.

Certainly it is as impossible that one and the same rule of life should fit the various tempers and conditions of men, as that one and the same course shou'd be taken effectually to dispose a man to sleep, and violently to keep

him awake ! For he that would sleep out his whole life, if any be so sottish, it behoves him to procure a constant supply of things which create sleep ; whereas he that designs to be vigilant and active, must furnish himself with such things as chase away sleep, and incline to watchfulness. The former therefore ought to give himself up to gluttony, drunkenness, and surfeiting ; he should have a dark house, a soft and large bed, and should use all manner of applications that cause drowsiness, as soporiferous perfumes, potions, &c. ; whereas the latter ought to be always sober, to drink moderately, and eat a slender diet ; to have a light house, a serene air, a sense of pain, a strait and hard bed, little fitted for man's repose.

But whether we mortals are in a place where we ought perpetually to be upon our watch, or whether our whole life ought to be but one night of sleep, is known only to such as thee, who hast discovered the prestigious magic of the body, and how the soul is enchanted in this world ; who hast found out the native activity of the mind, and how it comes to be stupified by the hidden opiates that lie lurking in the flesh.

Holy Santone, whilst we are in this world of shadows, we are perfect exiles, banished from our native country, which is the world of real substances : The more we are drenched in matter, the farther do we straggle from home, wandering in foreign desarts of enchanted ground, where we converse with none but empty spectres, fairies, demons, elfs, and cheating apparitions ; for all that is in this outward world is but a false delusion, the mimicry of nature, a heap of shadows reversed and tintured with a faint projection from the world of light.

Knowing therefore these things, let us make haste to return to our native seats again ; let us divest ourselves of the strange habits we have taken up by imitation in

this our pilgrimage, and purge our minds of all the ill qualities we have imbibed on earth; let us cast off corrupt affections, appetites, and inclinations, with every vain and false opinion. When we are freed from all these weights, our souls will easily mount aloft, their wings never flagging till they perch upon the trees of paradise. What is more generous than the mind of man, when once awakened from the slumbers of this mortal life? How it despises these terrene enjoyments, and only pants and thirsts for the supreme delights above! As iron turns itself, and makes its amorous approaches to the magnet, so is the soul attracted by the original Essence which is its source and centre.

There are two species of chains which tie the soul down to this earth, and cause her to grow dull and torpid, as if she were inebriated with deadly poison, forgetting her very native faculty of contemplation. These are pleasure and pain, of which our sense is the author, with the prepossession, phantasies, opinions, memories, and appetites, which accompany our sense; these hurry and precipitate the soul down from her proper mansion, and alienate her from the love of the only true substantial Being; therefore we ought to abstain from sensible things as much as in us lies, and shun all objects that stir up irregular appetites, and produce absurdities in our reason.

How many strange affections flow from our taste, binding fast the soul with a double cord, whilst the high relish and gust of savoury meats ensnare her in the palate as in a net, and the load of indigested crudities weighs and sinks her down into the belly, where she is kept as in a dungeon, till sacred abstinence releases her again.

The sense of touch does often draw the unwary soul forth from her fastnesses within, trepanning her with soft allurements and fly promises of pleasure to take the air

of the body ; thus having got her into the open field, an ambuscade of lusts, concupiscences, perturbations, fears, cares, love, joy, grief, and other passions, rush upon her on a sudden, and take her captive. How necessary therefore is it to be always on our guard, and not to lull ourselves in dangerous security ? Nor ought we to be rash and fool-hardy in venturing on a combat, where it is better to decline it, lest, instead of victory, we betray the weakness of our arms, and want of proper conduct.

O perfect man, thou seest these things in clearer light than I ; it is not to inform thee that I write, but to confirm myself, whilst I collect my scattered thoughts, and put them into order. If thou shalt vouchsafe to send me thy conceptions on this subject, I will revere the blessed dispatch, as though it were an oracle.

In the mean while, may Heaven regard thy innocent life, and still protect thee from the casualties that threaten all of mortal race. May thy prayers be heard, and thy good works rewarded ; finally, may thy end be like that of Enoch, who never saw death, but was translated alive to paradise.

Paris, 9th of the 24 Moon, of the Year 1674.

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#### IV.—To ALI, Bassa.

It is evident that the French arms are destined not to rust ; one provocation or other always keeps them in action. The neighbouring princes and states take their turns to affront and injure this monarch, and sometimes they set upon him all together ; surely they envy and fear the rising fortune of France, and therefore strive by stratagems and force to check its growth.

There having been several acts of hostility done by the

governor of the Spanish Netherlands, without any hopes of a fair redress, this king found himself obliged to declare open war against Spain.

This was done very lately, and at the same time the Duke de Navailles was sent with an army into Flanders, where he soon took the town and castle of Aubespine, the towns of Pesine and Mornais, the castle of Oigny, with the towns of Gray and Vezont.

This last is a place of considerable importance, being called the gate of Lorrain, and the postern of the Franche-Compte; whereby this monarch is become actual master of the baillage of Amont, which comprehends above five hundred villages.

The Spaniards seeing him thus successful, and that they could not by open resistance stop the course of his victories, took another method, and sought to undermine him by plots and confederacies with some of his subjects.

They had agreed with the Chevalier de Rohan to settle on him a pension of eight thousand livres a-year, and to present him out of hand with five thousand pistoles, if he would put them in possession of Quillebous, a strong place in the province of Normandy.

The Chevalier de Rohan had made himself and them believe that it was in his power with much ease to perform this, but he was mistaken; some of his friends say he never thought of accomplishing his bargain, his credit being too small in that place, and that he only aimed to repair his fortune by cheating the Spaniards of their five thousand pistoles. However, the plot was discovered to the French king, who has his spies in all corners of the kingdom; the unfortunate chevalier was seized and brought to the Bastile, and being convicted of treason, was condemned to lose his head, which was accordingly executed.

The Marquis of Villars, and the Sieur de Pèreau, suffered the same punishment, as accomplices in the treason; another French lord of the party was killed in defending himself against those who were ordered to arrest him. These had undertaken to deliver other places of strength into the hands of the Hollanders, who first began the war.

Had their conspiracy taken effect, it would have been no difficult matter to corrupt other grantees with the Spanish gold, and so a third part of France might have been sold for a price not allowable in the markets of kings; for it seems the Hollanders and Spaniards were upon the point of making their descents in Normandy and Bretagne, being invited thereto by the large promise of the persons before-named, and their confederates, who made them believe that a great part of the nobility and gentry of those provinces would come over to them as soon as they saw them landed; and there was no need to fear any opposition from the vulgar, who are bound to follow the fortune of their lords; besides, they are always desirous of novelty and change.

There is nothing so abject, poor, and contemptible, as the peasantry of France, who labour only for others, whilst they can hardly get bread for themselves out of all their toil; in a word, they are absolute slaves to them whose tenants they are, and whose lands they farm; they are not more oppressed by the public taxes and gabels than they are by the private impositions of their country lords, beside the unreasonable demands of the priests. These sufferings dispose them to wish for any revolution in the government, from which they might hope to receive gentler usage.

It was this partly which encouraged the Hollanders and Spaniards to think of invading France; otherwise

they had only been upon the defensive. This king has to do with a great many potent enemies; the emperor holds him play on the Rhine; the Duke of Lorraine gives him diversion in his new conquests on that side; the King of Spain puts him to a great expence of men and money in Flanders; the Hollanders infest him by sea, and would do by land, if they knew which way. Yet this monarch copes with them all, baffles their plots and intrigues, foils their arms, daily gains ground, and by a continued series of conquest, makes it apparent that his is the only flourishing fortune in the West.

The King of Sweden had made certain proposals of peace between the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Spain, the States of Holland, and some of the electoral princes; in order to which he offered himself to become a mediator between them. He sent his ambassadors accordingly to a place agreed upon by all parties, as the most convenient for conferences of this nature; so did all the other princes and states concerned in the war: But it seems there was a gross affront put upon Guillaume de Furstemberg, plenipotentiary to the Elector of Cologne; by the Marquis de Grana, ambassador to the emperor.

This was deeply resented at the French court, as being a notorious breach of the law of nations; and the king published a manifesto, wherein he charged the emperor with giving order for this insult, declaring also, that unless due satisfaction were made, he would withdraw his ambassadors from the place of conference, and seek justice with sword in hand.

He complained to the King of Swedeland of this violence, and entered into a close and strict league with him; Gustavus presently recalls his ambassadors from the public meeting, commanding them to protest against the action of the Marquis de Grana, as a violation of the civil laws;

the French king has done the same, and all things seem to portend a general distraction in Europe.

Those of the Roman church fight against one another, as well as they combine against the protestants, whom they esteem as the common enemy, and have little better regard for them than we mussulmans have for the Persian kyfilbaschi, whom we execrate as abominable heretics. One sort of protestants also cabal against another; the Lutherans hate and persecute the Calvinists, which the latter return with equal animosity. These infidels are caught in the devil's snare, where they bite and devour one another; they are in egregious darkness, tossed about in a tempest of errors; they are surrounded with enchantments; their guides are forcerers and magicians; hell has a hand in all their devices.

O ye true believers, lift up your heads; for the hour is approaching wherein the ancient prophecies must be fulfilled, "That the dragon of the East shall wage war with the eagle of the West, and shall devour him whole with all his feathers." Woe be to thee, O land of Japhet, in the year 1700 of the Christian stile.

Mighty bassâ, thou who hast not numbered half my years, mayest live to see these things come to pass: As for me I am hastening to the spirits of my fathers, to a region of silence and eternal retirement, to a place where all the vanities of this earth shall be forgotten.

In the mean time, live thou to be a witness of the grand revolution, which will astonish all the world.

Paris, 7th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1674.



V.—*To CAPA HALI, Physician to the Grand Signior.*

PRAISE be to God, from whom alone proceed health, long life, and immortal happiness ; in the whole family of fevers I never was much subject to any, except it were that of love. This indeed is become habitual to me ; it is grown a perfect hectic ; surely it is more than second nature ; I feel something in the very roots of my essence, prompting me to eternal softnesses, wild melting fits of fresh Platonic tender passions ; nothing can provoke my hatred but an obdurate surly-tempered fellow, who being the offspring of some bloody butcher, poulterer, or greasy cook, his very face portends a present massacre, and all his words breathe nothing else but a continued train of cruel wrongs and violences against the innocent ; pity to him sounds like the news of famine to a starving man ; but if you would make him smile, and put him in good humour, tell him how he may get an estate, by oppressing the fatherless and widows, or increase his wealth by ruining whole families ; tell him how he may over-reach some silly credulous young heir, or outwit his neighbour in a bargain. He cherishes a spider in his brain, and his heart is full of webs. To such a temper as this I cannot be reconciled ; there is an innate antipathy, an immortal contrariety in our souls ; my spirit is daunted, and retreats within me at the sight of such an one ; a languor and faintness seizes my limbs ; I am like one that has touched a torpedo,

Surely there is no species of four-footed beasts, of birds, of fish, of insects, reptiles, or any other living thing, whose nature is not found in man. How exactly agreeable to the fox are some mens tempers, whilst others are perfect *ars in human shape* ! Here you shall meet a crocodile, who seeks with feigned tears to entrap you to your ruin ;

there a sly serpent creeps, and winds himself into your affections, and when he is well warmed with favours, on a sudden he will bite and sting you to death. Tigers, lions, leopards, panthers, wolves, and all the monstrous generations of Afric, may be seen masquerading in the forms of men; and it is not hard for an observing mind to see their natural complexion through the borrowed vizard. The physiognomy of vice and virtue are easily distinguished; there are some secret characters in every face, which speak the nature of the person; so does Platonic love, with eagle eyes, soon trace the signatures of what is amiable in the soul. We read the hidden qualities of men at the first glance, and hence are lasting friendships often contracted. I love my friends without reserve, and because those are very few among our mortal race, I contract familiarities with the harmless animals; I study like a lover to oblige and win their hearts by all the tender offices I can perform; I bear with patience their wild froward tricks, till constant perseverance vanquishes their stubborn humours; then when we once begin to understand each other aright, they make me a thousand sweet returns of gratitude, according to their kind; when I am melancholy, they will soon divert me with one pretty trick or other, as if they were sensible of my pain.

But because my love is large and strong, still seeking to dilate itself, though still recoiling from the degenerate race of men, I go into the fields and woods, and make my silent court unto the trees and flowers, and sometimes I converse in raillery with echos; I languish on the banks of crystal streams, and pine away for an old mossy rock; the oak inflames me with a sacred passion; when I behold her venerable bulk and shade, I could almost turn druid for her sake, and take my residence up for ever in her

hollow trunk, where the kind genii of the air would visit me, and tell me things to come, instructing me in all the mysteries of nature; for I am in love even with those invisible beings, and often tell my passion to them in the woods, or on some mountain, where the courteous winds transport my words, and waft their secret answers back again. Then is my soul snatched up in sacred ecstasies, because the immortals condescend to talk with me; I often fall into a trance, and wake not till the sun is got half way into the other hemisphere; then I resolve to pass away the night in this sweet solitude.

Had I the tongues or pens of Cicero and Demosthenes, I could not to the life express the pleasures that I feel at such a time, when free and undisturbed I can for several hours behold the motions of the moon and stars. Oh God! what thoughts; what contemplations rise within my breast! my ravished soul is ready to break prison for joy, when it is inspired with certain demonstration of the world's eternity. Methinks at such a time I hear the noise and bustle of the world above; methinks I see the active busy tenants of the moon and stars trudging about their daily business, even like us mortals here below. Then it is I nauseate the narrow principles of ignorant, superstitious men; I hate to think of ever returning to the city again; I do not profane my reason with the vain discourse of self-conceited fools and idiots; I am cloyed with life, and wish to die amidst these charming speculations. Thus do I pass the time away till fair Aurora ushers in the rosy-fingered morn; then I begin to reflect on my duty as a Mussulman, and slave to the Grand Signior; I haste to wash myself in the next stream, and cheerfully prostrate myself upon the ground, adoring the Eternal Source of all things; after which, abundantly satisfied with these nocturnal pleasures, I return to the ci-

ty, and to my business, considering that I was not wholly born for contemplation.

Learned Hali, I wish thee consummate happiness in this life, and fortunate transmigrations after death, praying also that I may merit one day to enjoy thy company in paradise, where we may discourse these things more at large, and in a clearer light than what this earth affords. Adieu.

Paris, 2d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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#### VI.—To KÉRKEP HASSAN, *Bassa*.

To what purpose am I kept longer in Paris? why do the ministers of the Porte put the Grand Signior to a needless expence in maintaining here an old superannuated slave, not worth his daily bread? And yet, God knows, I eat not much, neither can I taste any pleasure in that little I eat. My reflections are like the entertainments of banqueting tables, where the eye is deluded with a fair show of various delicacies, but the stomach is not satisfied with any real food, nor the body strengthened by any substantial nourishment; only the languishing imagination feeds on fantastic dishes, mere shadows, and enchanted resemblances of solid meat, while the man is ready to faint for hunger. So I seem to myself to eat and drink, but it is with so little gust at present, and I receive so little benefit from it afterwards, that all appears no more than a visionary feast, or a collation in a dream.

I have now passed the grand climacter of human life, being entered into the sixty-fourth year of my age; my senses droop, and all the faculties of my soul and body decay apace; my bones are weary of supporting their accustomed burden; my sinews and muscles refuse to per-

form the offices of motion, at least their vigour is much slackened and impaired ; in a word, the infirmities of my body have ranked me under a new predicament ; I am become a three-footed animal, being forced to walk with a staff, to prevent the necessity of metamorphosing my hands to feet, and crawling on all four.

Judge now, illustrious Arab, after what I have said, whether I am fitting to do the Grand Signior service in this station. As for the intrigues of the court, I am quite tired of them ; besides, here are now no more Richlieus and Mazarinis in being, with whom I might insinuate on the score of skill in translating Greek, Slavonic, Arabic, and other Eastern languages ; Osmin the dwarf is also dead, from whom I used to learn many secrets ; fate has also snatched away several courtiers with whom I had intimate converse. Add to this, that Eliachim grows old and crazy, who was once as my right hand ; so prompt and dexterous in any business of difficulty ; faithful also as my own heart, which never was tainted with the least symptom of disloyalty : So that all things considered, I cannot see what the sublime ministers can propose in retaining me at Paris.

I do not desire, as formerly, to travel into India, or any other region of the East ; I do not so much as covet to see my own native country, for which I have had such passionate longings. No, every place will be Arabia to me, where I may rest from business of state, and shut up my latter days in quietness. It is time for me to bid adieu to the active life, and betake myself wholly to contemplation. I would fain abandon, not only the actual vanities of this fading world, but the very remembrance and thoughts of them. My mind is nauseated with the ideas of past folly, which men falsely call pleasure ; and I find no gust in any thing but the medi-

tation of death, and the unknown state of departed souls ; all other things are uncertain toys and empty trifles ; but that great change, which no mortal hath ever yet escaped, is stable, permanent, and fixed by destiny ; fate has set the period, which winds up the epocha of every man's life in this visible state, and begins a new *hégira*, whereof we have no computation, in regard we have no correspondence with that unknown world ; neither are there any certain histories extant which can rightly inform us. The flight of the soul from the body begins the mysterious date ; but where or when it will end, is not known to us that stay behind. This, therefore, alone is worthy of an old man's thoughts, how to prepare himself for death, since he cannot protract the term of his life beyond the moment allotted by Heaven ; neither can he be assured what will become of him afterwards.

Think not, serene bassa, that I am going to ~~the~~ train for the reputation of a saint, or would set up all on a sudden for an extraordinary pious man. No, there is nothing of that in it. I hate the rigid hypocrisy of forced penance, and the religious lunacy of those who never think they do enough to atone for their sins, unless they ~~outdo~~ do humanity itself in their cruel mortifications. These are monsters in all good divinity, and their example is not to be followed.

What I aim at in this discourse, is, that as according to the order of nature, and will of destiny, we are born men, so we should take care to live and die : And if we have suffered the former part of our life to elapse without due reflection on so important a truth, it is but reason, that when we approach near the grave, when all our senses, faculties, and members, do the part of King Philip's page, putting us daily and hourly in mind of

our mortality, it is but reason, I say, that then we should begin to recollect ourselves, and to think whereabouts we are, that we may not be surpris'd by the inevitable decree of fate, when it comes to be put in execution, nor die less than ourselves.

Besides, there is another advantage in being thus prepared for the last things, since it equally arms us against all intermediate calamities, supposing we should live longer than we reckon. He that can boldly stare death in the face, will not easily turn his back upon any misfortune of this inconstant life: but, receiving all things with an even temper, renders himself happy in the midst of troubles, losses, disgraces, pains, sicknesses, and other casualties which assault all that live on earth.

Magnificent bassà, all that I have said is but a prologue to my main purpose, which is to desire thy mediation with the first visier, that I may be recalled from an employment wherein I cannot be so serviceable as I have been, and which, at the same time, by imposing on me a thousand cares, takes from me the possibility of preparing, as I ought to do, for that transmigration which in a little time I must pass through.

In a word, right noble Kerker, I desire the privilege to end my days in Constantinople among the mussulmans, under the venerable shade of mosques and minarets, consecrated to the service and honour of the Eternal Unity. Let me not have worse usage than the ancient Roman soldiers had, who, when they had served in the wars such a certain number of years, were discharged with an honourable pension.

This is all the favour I request, who have served the Grand Signior faithfully, and with success, these eight-and-thirty years, in a country of infidels. But if my su-

persons shall determine otherwise, have resigned to their pleasure, and to the will of destiny.

Paris, 22d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1674.

VII.—To ALI RUSTAN BEGH, *Serassquier in Dalmatia.*

THOU shalt hear how a famous Christian general, the Marschal de Turenne, departed himself when he was lately challenged to a single combat by the Prince Palatine of the Rhine.

It seems this latter has been a great sufferer by the present war between France and the confederate princes; for his country lying near the Rhine, was exposed to both parties, and the French first entered it.

There were some English troops in the French army, who had conceived an implacable revenge against the subjects of the palatine, in regard many of their comrades had been barbarously handled by them; wherefore they made great devastation wherever they came, burnt five-and-twenty great villages to the ground, and five small cities; in a word, they quite ruined, in fifteen days time, the whole country, which is esteemed the most pleasant and agreeable part of Europe.

Thus put the elector all in choler, and he wrote a sharp letter to the Marschal Turenne, threatening him in a furious manner, and bidding him choose the place where he might fight with him in single duel; but the sage marschal retaining his usual moderation, and not at all moved at the palatine's letter, answered it in these or the like terms: "That the proceedings of the English regiments were without his order or approbation; that he was infinitely troubled at the violences which had been committed, and that the chief authors had been



punished ; nevertheless, he could not but declare, that the cruel treatment which the English had met with, had so exasperated their companions, that it was no wonder to see them execute their revenge, even on the very inanimate things ; and that in the first heat and transport of their fury, they had not leisure to examine who were guilty, and who not." He added likewise, " That if the post which the king his master had appointed him, would permit him to accept of his challenge, he would not refuse it, counting it an honour to measure his arms with those of so illustrious a prince ; but that as things were, he desired to be excused." .

In former days, such an answer as this would have been taken for an argument of cowardice in a man professing arms. There was nothing more common among these infidels, than to decide their private controversies, grudges, and quarrels, by the sword, and their laws allowed it. If any man had accused another wrongfully, or had done him any other injury, he did not run presently to the cadis or lawyers for redress, but had recourse to his arms, and whosoever got the victory, his cause was pronounced just ; but since the commerce which has been established between the Mussulmans and the Nazarenes, these latter have learned to forsake so impious a practice, being ashamed that the followers of Mahomet, whom they call infidels, should outstrip them in the peaceableness of their tempers, a virtue so earnestly recommended to the practice of all Christians by Jesus the son of Mary ; besides, they have found the inconvenience of these private combats, and they are generally forbidden now in most countries of Europe. This is owing to the examples of the mussulmans, whose anger against each other scarce ever proceeds to contumelious words, much less to blows, or any attempt upon life ;

for when a dispute arises between two true believers, and they become never so little passionate thereupon, it is but for a third person, one of the faithful, to interpose himself, and reprove them with violating the laws of the prophet, and the honour of their profession, and they immediately are made friends again. Such magic there is in the force of these words, "Fy, fy! What! Mussulmans, and quarrel?" the usual reprimand of the bystanders; which is an evident argument, that our holy religion has a greater influence on the hearts and consciences of those that profess it, than has that of the Nazarenes; for whilst these pretend to believe and honour the Messiah as their lawgiver, they disobey him in their daily practice, and so give the lie to their faith, discovering that it has no efficacy on their morals. Doubtless the Messiah was holy, chaste, peaceable, humble, and harmless; but it is rare to find any of these virtues among his followers. He bid them return good for evil, blessings for curses, and to suffer all injuries patiently, after his example; but they invert the order of his precepts, and read them backward, as they say witches do the pater-noster.

When Judas came to seize him in the garden of Gethsemani, with a train of officers and ruffians, one of Jesus's retinue drew his whiniard, and cut off an ear from the servant of the high-priest; but the Son of Mary was so far from commending his zeal in this, that he bid him put up his sword, telling him withal, "That whosoever draws the sword, shall perish by the sword." At the same time, he restored the fellow's ear again by a miracle.

~~—~~ Magnanimous sersquier, what I have said intrenches not on the right of lawful war in defence of one's coun-

try, or of the volume brought down from heaven. The sacred combat was ever allowed of by God and man.

Thou art now engaged in this cause against infidels; fight generously and vanquish; but enter not into private duels with any man, though he be a prince, without the Grand Signior's consent; for the safety of his royal person depends upon the preservation of his faithful, valiant, and wise generals.

Paris, 25th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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#### VIII.—*To the same.*

I WILL now give thee a brief account of the famous battle of Senef, which makes a great noise in Europe, and is reckoned one of the most terrible that has been fought in these parts for many ages; for it will not be amiss to let thee know the particular circumstances of this combat, the good conduct of the French generals, as also their oversights and errors, that thou mayest make a right use of such examples, in the difficulties which may environ thee through the chance of war.

On the 9th of this instant month, the confederate forces, amounting to sixty thousand men, marched with their left wing to a place called Aiken, and their right to the forest of Bursleray, where they encamped, having before them a village called Senef, situated in Brabant; they tarried there on the 10th day, and next morning parted from thence, marching in three lines, counting the baggage for one; whilst the Prince de Vaudemont commanded a body of six thousand Spanish horse, to cover their march, and to skirmish with the French, if there should be occasion, till the whole army were in order.

As soon as the Prince of Condé was adverted of these motions, he was resolved to take advantage of their necessity, and to attack them before they could possibly get together into a body capable of sustaining the shock of the French army, which was closely embattled. To this end he caused one part of the army, with four pieces of cannon, to cross the river of Pilton, where unsuspected they might observe the enemies' motions; another part he posted in a deep valley, where the confederates could not perceive them; and that nothing might be wanting to his full information of their advances, he caused the marshal of the camp, with a considerable detachment, to gain a certain hill, from whence, lying under the covert of thick woods, he might attend every step of the enemy, without being discovered himself.

When the prince had made all those preparations, he sent the Marquis de Rannes, and the Chevalier de Tel-ladet, with the dragoons under their command, to assault the confederates not far from Senef. This was performed with so much vigour, that they drove them into the village, with no little slaughter of the Spaniards; but not satisfied with this, they attacked them in the village itself; and after a long and bloody conflict, the French beat them thence also, pursuing them into the plain, till at last both the whole armies were engaged pell-mell; then was the fight cruel and fierce, the officers of both sides behaving themselves with surpassing bravery, and the soldiers not shrinking from their valiant leaders. But fortune favoured the French, who, before they quitted the plain, became masters of all the Hollanders' baggage, ammunition, powder, and money, which they brought with them to pay the army; then the Prince of Condé chased them into the village of Dufay, where the confederates intrenched themselves under the covert of a

castle, and a strong church. But that active general would not suffer them to rest long there; he set upon them on all hands so furiously, that they were forced to abandon the place, and enter the plain the second time. The battle had now lasted five hours, and great was the slaughter on both sides. The French took almost four thousand prisoners, and killed as many upon the spot, besides those that they left wounded, which so weakened and discouraged the confederates, that the next day they retired, and left the French masters of the field.

Now I will tell thee, that had the Prince of Conde been contented with his first victory at Senef, he had saved abundance of French blood; for in that fight the confederates lost above two thousand men, and the French scarce an hundred. But the fieriness of his temper carried him beyond his judgment, to pursue them into difficult places; so that in the winding up of the matter, though the victory was his, it cost him above fifteen hundred lives of his soldiers, which might have been as well spared, and his honour remained the same.

Valiant serafquier, I send thee this narrative, as a chart by which to steer thy course in the like emergencies, advising thee to temper thy courage with sage conduct and prudence, and not to sacrifice thy men to a rash caprice of martial frenzy.

Paris, 12th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1674.

IX.—*To MEHEMET, an exiled Eunuch, at Alcairo in Egypt.*

How changeable is the state of mortals! how inconstant our thoughts, passions, words, and actions! We are never fixed long on any thing; if we are invited to

cast anchor a while in some calm and serene season; whilst we furl the sails of human care and anxiety; if we are permitted to careen and recruit our weather-beaten spirits, enjoying some short interval of rest and ease, the indulgence soon expires, and we are forced to weigh and hoist with double diligence, lest we incur a wreck: The tempests raised by our evil stars blow hard upon us; we run adrift, and are tossed up and down on the billows of human misery, without any approved pilot, chart, or compass, to direct us in the uncertain road of life; we float at random, in a sea of perpetual hazards and difficulties.

O Mchemet! I will not now, as once formerly I did, wish myself in one of the Egyptian pyramids, or court the society of ghosts and demons; I will not take sanctuary in those superannuated prisons of royal souls, nor seek diversion among the dead; not the black masquerades of Cheop's sepulchre, danced each night by antic shadows, or wildest measures of hobgoblins in the galleries of that horrid pile, could now relieve my melancholy, or ease my frenetic pain, because the entertainment is too narrow, close and stale for such a soul as mine. I would fain ramble through an infinite space, planted each stage with seminaries of new ideas, uncouth forms, and strange chimeras; I would see the essence of all beings that I have already seen, reversed, turned upside down, or inside out, or any way transformed, so as I might not know them again; I would have all the elements change their qualities; the fire to lose its innate heat, and water to expunge its moisture; the earth take fire, and blow itself up into the ninth sphere, whilst the air must condense and crush itself into a solid globe, producing a new race of minerals, vegetables, and living creatures, which our old purblind world never saw be-

fore ; I would have flying trees, and birds whose outspread claws take rooting in the air, and grow like Baucis and Philemon ; their wings to branches turned their feathers into leaves ; besides a thousand kinds of monsters, more than ever Ovid spoke of in his metamorphosis.

After all this, I would go up and view the orbs above, restore the rotten corruptible heavens, pull all the bulls and bears, the scorpions, lions, centaurs, and other antiquated beasts out of the sky ; make the new star of Cassiopæia pay a swinging fine for her damned late unmanly appearance in the senate of the stars.

Then would I set up an inquisition for the comets, to know from whence they are, and what their business is among the orbs above ; I would examine all the constellations, and know the meaning of their names, and ill-shaped figures ; and then I would trace the milky way—mounting directly to the holiest heavens of all.

There, perhaps, I should begin to be modest and sober, considering that it is the presence-chamber of the Omnipotent ; I would not broach sedition, nor talk factiously before the King of all things ; but behaving myself like a courtier during the public audience, I would afterwards retire, and scamper through the endless fields, beyond the *Cœlum Empyræum*, where I would either find out new worlds, or room for them ; nothing should confine my search less than infinity. Is not our sense, fancy, and reason, without bounds ? Are not these parts of the universe ? And has God made any part greater than the whole ? This is a contradiction in nature. He has given us faculties, which, if rightly used, cannot err ; our conceptions are squared to his eternal model of the world, if we do not debase our own thoughts, or suffer them to be corrupted by others. He is the pri-

mitive and original reason, the everlasting common sensorium of nature, in whom, and by whom, we all see that we have eyes, hear that we have ears, smell that we have noses, taste that we have a tongue, and feel that we are all over full of sensible spirits.

Oh God ! thy praises are without beginning or end ; thou art an eternal circle of wonders and miracles ; thou surpassest all our sublimest thoughts ; no words can decypher the skirts of thy garment ; on thee infinite worlds have rested from eternal ages ; thou art no niggard of thy gifts. Why should infinite goodness and bounty be traduced by infidels ? They say the world is but so many thousand years old, perhaps five or six. It is a damned blasphemy, thus sily to calumniate the Omnipotent, and to say by craft he was not so early gracious as he might have been. What should ail the Eternal, that he was not in a condition to produce the world before ? Or was he in a sullen humour, that he should suffer a lapse of indeterminate ages, before he should display his attributes ?

Oh, no ! suffer not this doctrine to take root in thy soul, my dear Mehemet, but remember there is no envy in the Deity ; doubtless he was as good, powerful, just, and wise, from all eternity, as at Moses's hour of the creation, or as he is now, and ever will be, world without end, amen ; as the Nazarenes have in their prayers.

My Mehemet, let us shake off the prejudices of education, with all the prepossessions and false dogmas of our early years, and adhere to firm reason, and the inspirations that are from beyond the visible frame.

Take this as my last adieu, for I am just equipping for the unknown eternal voyage.

Paris, 5th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1674.



X.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE affairs of France seem to be in a very flourishing condition; this invincible monarch not only conquers cities and provinces by force, but some yield to him voluntarily, courting his protection.

Here are arrived deputies from the senate of Messina in Sicily, to desire the king to free that city and people from the yoke of Spanish tyranny, and to number them among his subjects; they are received without much ceremony on the part of this court, which affects to appear stately and reserved at such a juncture; however, there is no point of humanity or hospitable usage neglected toward these strangers; in a word, they are entertained as friends of a lower degree, and they esteem this a sufficient happiness.

It seems the Spanish government was very severe and cruel, laying insupportable taxes on the inhabitants, and fleecing them of their silver and gold by a thousand tricks and inventions of state. It was a crime to grow rich, and no less to be so poor as to deny the payment of the gabels; the one put a man in danger of the Inquisition, the other exposed him to the galleys, or some worse slavery in the mines of Peru. On whomsoever the viceroy or his officers cast an ill eye, that person was sure to be ruined, if he did not make his escape, or present his enemy with the value perhaps of half of his wealth; and he must take it as a favour too that they would compound at such easy rates; for these greedy harpies are seldom contented with less than all a man has.

Infinite other oppressions the people suffered under, which at last so wearied their patience, that they began to cabal and form conspiracies against the viceroy; and

it was not only the vulgar that thus fought after liberty, but the chief of the citizens, and some of the senators.

These all unanimously agreed to treat underhand with the French king, to represent to him their grievances, with the present state of the whole island; for they had heard the fame and character of his person and government, and they were well satisfied they could not submit to a better or more generous master than him. The king undertakes to rescue them from the Spanish bondage provided they would assist him with what succours they could spare, and instruct his officers in those things which would facilitate the reduction of the isle.

He sent forces accordingly, at the beginning of the year, under the command of the Chevalier de Valbelle, who acquitted himself very successfully, having performed many considerable exploits, and taken several towns, castles, and other strong places from the Spaniards.

The senate of Messina being encouraged by these prosperous beginnings, thought it high time actually to surrender themselves up to the French king; and it is on this errand the deputies are come.

The king being informed that the Chevalier de Valbelle wanted greater forces to conquer the places which remain in the Spaniards hands, immediately gave orders for a certain number of vessels to be fitted and manned, under the command of the Duke of Vivonne; he gave a commission also to the Marquis de Velavoir, with a considerable army of men, ordering him to make all speed for Sicily; and to join the Chevalier de Valbelle, or to act separately, as occasion offered.

They say the Duke of Vivonne will set sail with his fleet about the beginning of the first moon; He is esteemed a good soldier, though some of the grandees and peers of the realm envy him, in regard he was raised to the

high dignities he possesses through the mediation of his sister, Madame de Montespan, one of the king's concubines; for he was before only Count of Vivonne, but now he is duke, peer, and marshal of France, as also admiral of the Mediterranean galleys.

The Prince of Conde, once in company with some of the grantees, and making a comparison between the Marshals Feuillade and Vivonne, he said that Feuillade got his honour by the sword, and Vivonne by the seaboard, reflecting thereby on his sister.

It was not the first time that prince, used the liberty of his tongue in affronting people; he was always daring and bold in such cases: When he was young, and travelling through Picardy, he was to pass by a certain convent, or religious house on the road, where the superior with all his dervises came out to meet him, and to pay him the ceremonies and acknowledgments due to his quality. The superior was making a long elaborate harangue, in compliment to the prince, when he all in a frolic called aloud to know what o'clock it was. The poor dervises striving who should most readily satisfy him, cried out all together, "It is mid-day, my Lord;" when he made them this wild answer, "Then get you all gone, and make an end of your speech to the devil by mid-night; for I will hear no more of your long-winded flattery."

Thou wilt say this was an odd sort of expression in a prince; but it must be imputed to the fierceness of his constitution, which in his youth spurred him on to a thousand extravagancies. He corrected these in time, and instead of such vain pranks and flashes of his sparkling nature, he grew inflamed with noble ardours for his king and country. He was commonly called the French Lion and Mars, being esteemed the boldest man in the kingdom. Marshal Turenne, who was no stranger to his

genius, used to say, "That since the brave Horatius Curtius, there never was a man born of woman so full of fire and spirit as the Prince of Conde."

Yet, which is more to be admired, that two such qualities should meet in the same genius, he is a great statesman, as well as a valiant soldier; he has a prodigious aim at the good or ill success of enterprises; and his counsels are generally fortunate.

As these accomplishments have rendered him beloved by the generality of the French nation, so his inconstancy, and siding with different factions, have made him suspected both by the court and the parliaments. All sides are shy of him, and reserved in their addresses. Though he has done services enough, one would think, to efface the memory of his former failings, yet the civilities he receives from the king are only the faint sprinklings of court holy water; so hard a thing it is for an eminent person to recover the esteem which he has once lost by making false steps.

This monarch is observed to be very constant to those he loves; never putting to death any of his favourites, though he has often caused them to be arrested; he is very affable, and of no difficult access; civil and courteous to the poorest people, returning the salutes of his subjects with much condescension; he is amorous also, and indulges that soft passion in the midst of all his glorious enterprises; he had once three mistresses together, one whereof was of vulgar parentage, the other was a noble woman, and the third a nun; which occasioned this jest to be put on him, "That he went about to unite the three estates, and fasten them to the interest of the crown."

Among the other diversions of this great prince, he takes a particular pleasure in magnificent buildings; and

his new palace at Versailles is esteemed one of the wonders of the world, for beauty and art. As soon as it was finished, a certain poet presented the king with this distich :

Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ulla ;  
Urbsye domum, dominum nec domus ulla parcm.

Sage minister, these infidels flatter themselves with a wrong idea of their own grandeur, not considering the invincible Osmans are by destiny exalted above all other nations, and that no city is comparable to Constantinople for beauty and riches, nor any place so magnificent as the seraglio, which is the seat of the great Sultan, lord of Asia, Africa, and Europe, arbitrator of the whole earth.

Paris, 17th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1674.

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#### XI.—*To the VIZIER BASSA at Constantinople.*

I AM acquainted with a French merchant in this city, who often trades to Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and other cities of the Levant ; he knows nothing of me or my business at Paris, farther than other people, who take me for a native of Moldavia, and one whom the desire of knowledge has brought hither, where the sciences have taken up their residence; besides, they may imagine that the hopes of preferment in the church were one inducement to my travelling thus far from the place of my nativity, since I have all along professed myself a student, and candidate of the priesthood, and it is generally known how familiar I have been with Cardinal Richlieu and his successor Mazafini. Whatever their thoughts be, thou mayest assure thyself, that in the main I have taken care

to conceal my true circumstances, and the affairs of the Grand Signior entrusted to my charge. But to come to the business.

The merchant of whom I speak is called Monsieur de Vaubrun, a man of generous extraction, and by his industry he has acquired a considerable wealth. This person, not long since, came from Constantinople, and has made it his business, ever since his return, to extol the singular morality and justice of the mussulmans. In all companies wherever he comes, it is usual with him to say, "The Turks are perfect saints in comparison with us." And to confirm his assertion, he relates many pretty passages of things happening whilst he resided at the imperial city, all in honour of the true believers; which has drawn upon him no small hatred, envy, and persecution from the priests, and their more bigotted followers. However, he shrinks not from his word, but stoutly maintains the truth of his assertions; and some men of sense, who have heard the stories he tells, and the elegant account he gives of our religion and morals, cannot forbear crying out, "They are almost proselyted to the Mahometan faith."

Among the rest, he recounts an extraordinary occurrence which happened to himself at his parting from Constantinople, which I thought it worth while to acquaint thee with, in regard it is much taken notice of in Paris by all that hear it, and conduces not a little to raise in the French an higher esteem of the mussulmans and our holy faith than they were wont to have.

It seems Monsieur de Vaubrun had entered into a strict partnership with Mustapha Zari, a native of Turcomania, dwelling at Constantinople, and trading in silks; their mutual traffic and correspondence held for the space of four years, at the end of which the Frenchman being

called home to his native country, by letters from some of his friends, to take possession of an estate newly fallen to him by the death of an uncle, he gave his partner notice of it, telling him his resolution was fixed to depart very speedily from the Porte, and take his voyage for France; at the same time desiring that the accounts between them might be settled, which was done accordingly; and in casting them up, it was agreed upon by both, that this Monsieur Vaubrun remained indebted nine hundred sequins to Mustapha Zari. There was no contention in the case; Monsieur very readily gave him five bags sealed, and desired him to tell the money. "No, (replied Mustapha) we have dealt together thus long, and I have found you an honest man; God forbid that I should mistrust my friend at our last parting."

This was done the day before Monsieur de Vaubrun was to take his leave of Constantinople; for he had hired horses to travel by land to Smyrna, his business so requiring; therefore both parties being well satisfied, they bid adieu to each other, wishing mutual happiness. The next day Monsieur de Vaubrun took horse for Smyrna, having dispatched all his affairs at the Imperial Porte.

It so happened, that as soon as he was gone, Mustapha had occasion to pay a thousand five hundred sequins to a merchant of Holland; wherefore, having newly received those five bags from his partner, he, with them, made up the sum due to the Dutchman, saying withal, that he had not told the money in those five bags, in regard he took them on the credit of a very worthy and honest man, who had been his partner; but the jealous Christian would not show so much generosity; for he presently broke up the seals in the presence of Mustapha, and having told over the money, said it was all right, and was very fairly putting it up again; but Mustapha, who had

a quick eye, and being well versed in telling of money, perceived there was a great overplus, above nine hundred sequins; wherefore he bid the Dutchman hold his hand, till he had told the bags over himself, for he suspected there was some mistake. The Nazarene durst not deny a true believer this privilege under the Grand Signior's protection, whatever he would have done in his own country; so that when Mustapha had run the money over, he found eleven hundred and fifty sequins in bags by themselves, and gave the rest to the Hollander: In a word, having dispatched that payment, he sent an express away immediately, with the two hundred and fifty sequins to Monsieur de Vaubrun, who he knew was to tarry some days at a town on the road, about twenty leagues from Constantinople, commanding the courier to deliver him this message in writing: "My friend, God forbid that I should detain any thing beyond my right, or deal with thee as a certain Frank would have done by me; for thou knowest that I took the money on thy credit, without telling it; but being to pay it away this day to a Dutch merchant, he not having the same faith, would tell it; and finding these two hundred and fifty sequins over and above the sum supposed to be in the bags, yet would have smuggled them in his Dutch conscience, had not I discerned his fraud and prevented him. I send them to thee as thy right, supposing it was some oversight. God prohibits all injustice."

This relation I had from Monsieur de Vaubrun's own mouth, and I tell thee it makes a great noise in Paris: I leave it to thy mature resolves, whether that honest mussulman deserves not some particular and public honour to be done him, who by such a rare action of justice, has raised a noble character of the mussulmans among the infidels.



Most illustrious and serene Bassa, I pray the all-mighty and all good God, to have thee in his holy protection, and augment thy virtues and felicities.

Paris, 11th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1675.

XII.—*To IBRAHIM ELI ZFID, Hadgi, Effendi, Preacher to the Seraglio.*

HERE has happened something of late, which the priests magnify as an apparent miracle, whilst, for ought I know, it is only a pure effect of nature.

Thou art not to learn that the Nazarenes have their saints in great veneration; that they invoke them in their necessities, set up their images and pictures in temples to be adored; that they preserve their bones, ashes, hair, garments, or any thing that deserves the name of a sacred relic; that they enshrine these in caskets, urns, chests, and other vessels of gold and silver, adorned with precious stones; that they place them in their mosques, as in sanctuaries, sometimes under their altar, at other times upon them; some in particular oratories or chapels, others in the choir; that they carry them in procession in times of public calamity, and on certain festivals, thinking by this means to pacify the wrath of Heaven, and draw down the divine benediction. Thou art not ignorant also, that they believe the saints are guardians of certain kingdoms, provinces, cities, families, and even of private persons.

Hence St. Denis is esteemed the patron of France, St. James of Spain, St. George of England, and so of other nations. Each city also has its peculiar guardian saint; hence St. Anthony is accounted the patron of Padua, St. Mark of Venice, and, to come to the purpose, St.

Genevieve is adored by the citizens of Paris as the patroness of this place.

There is a beautiful temple built in honour of her, on the highest ground in the city, which also is called by her name, the mountain of St. Genevieve; on the decline of this there is a fountain of delicate water, which is called the fountain of St. Genevieve.

They attribute many miracles to this female saint, some of which she performed in her lifetime, others after her death, if we may believe what the priests affirm, and what is recorded in the history of her life, in the annals of Paris, and the archives of the convent belonging to her temple; for there is a certain number of dervises of the chief nobility in Paris, who consecrate themselves for ever to a religious life, in honour of this virgin.

They meet twice a-day in the choir of the church, all arrayed in long robes of white linen, where they chant aloud the praises of St. Genevieve; as oft they assemble, at different hours, in a private chapel in their cloisters, to perform the like devotions. Those who are chosen into this order, are all persons of sweet and lovely countenances; graceful demeanour, and learned education. One shall not see so much regularity, order, and devout modesty, in any church in Paris, as appears in this, at the time of celebrating their divine mysteries. Yet, for ought I know, all this may be but hypocrisy and pious artifice, to attract the greater reverence from the people who are present at their ceremonies; I myself was astonished once, when being there, I saw a beautiful youth approach the altar with a golden censer, hanging at a chain, which he held in one hand, whilst with the other he wafted the rich perfume towards the statues, which stood on high behind the altar; he had the very signature of virtue in his face, besides a certain lustre that seemed to spring all

on a sudden into his eyes and cheeks, discovering some inward rapture of his soul; methought he looked like one of the pages of Eden, as they are described in the holy Alcoran.

I protest it was impossible for me to fix my eyes upon him, and not to feel the passions of Platonic love; he deported himself with a grace which cannot be expressed.

Afterwards I contracted an intimate familiarity with him, on the account of Arabic, which he learns of me; he is a person of excellent natural abilities, and well versed in languages, and all manner of divine and human learning.

Pardon this digression, venerable hadgi, in regard I could not forbear mentioning a person of whom I have a great deal more to say than can well be comprised in one letter. Hereafter I will communicate a farther account of him, whilst I now return to the church of St. Genevieve. In the upper part of the choir, four pillars of jasper, with four golden images of angels on the tops, support the shrine of this saint, wherein lies inclosed all that remains of her body; several wax tapers burn before it day and night; the devouter sort of people kneel and kiss the pillars which sustain the admirable relics; they bring their linen and other vestments to the priest who is appointed for this office; he fastens them in the cleft of a long pole, and then raises that end up to the shrine, which is very near as high as the roof of the church; he touches the shrine with the linen, &c. and having done so, he takes it down again, when pronouncing a benediction on it, in the name of the saint, he restores it to the party whose it is.

They believe that linen, or any thing else belonging to the body, being so touched and blessed, has power to chase away maladies, to preserve them from danger, to

case women in child-birth, and to make them prosper in all things; so profound is the attach which they have for this famous saint.

But whether there be any thing more in it than superstition and bigotry, God only knows; however, the inhabitants of Paris esteem this shrine, as the Trojans did their Palladium, and the Romans their Ancile, which fell from Heaven, as Numa Pompilius made them believe.

When the city is threatened with any public calamity, this shrine is taken down with abundance of pomp and solemnity, and carried in procession through the streets, thinking thereby to divert the vengeance of Heaven, and appease the anger of the Omnipotent.

Such was the case here lately; there having fallen such an overplus of continual rains, as threatened to destroy all the corn and herbage, with the fruits of the earth, besides the damage already done to innumerable persons in their houses and goods by the vast inundations.

This occasioned a decree to come out for the taking down the body of St. Genevieve, and carrying it in solemn procession to the temple of Notre-Dame; which was accordingly performed on the 17th of this moon. In the procession were seen all the religious orders in this city, both of men and women, the parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, the court of money, with the whole body of the citizens.

But no sooner was the shrine of St. Genevieve brought into the open air, when the rain ceased, the clouds dispersed, and the sky became serene and clear; and so it has continued ever since.

The priests will have this to be an effect of St. Genevieve's intercession with God for the province and city, committed to her patronage; and the people are wil-

ling enough to believe it. If this shrine be as efficacious in causing rain when there is a drought, as the inhabitants of Paris affirm, it may not unfitly be compared to the Lapis Manalis of the ancient Romans. This was a certain great stone, which, in time of excessive dryness, the Romans used to draw into the city with vast ropes, by the gate Capena, whilst the priests of the god Mars danced before it, and all the vestals left the sacred fire to follow the procession; they drew the stone to the temple of the goddess Flora, where they strewed upon it an handful of withered flowers and herbs; then immediately it began to rain, and they let the stone lie there, as a memorial before the temple of the goddess, till they had enough of that sort of weather to secure the growth and maturity of the vegetables, and then they drew it back again in the same manner as before, only each vestal now carried some of the sacred fire in an earthen vessel, whereas before they carried none.

Whether there be any real efficacy in those religious ceremonies or no, is not in my power to determine; but it is certain that every nation confides much in the mysteries taught them by their priests. The force of education prevails on most men, even to old age, in regard they think it an impiety to examine or question the traditions of their fathers, especially when Heaven itself confirms their implicit faith, by seeming to regard and answer their religious addresses, in so peculiar a manner as these forementioned instances describe.

Sage effendi, tell me whether it be heresy to affirm, that God has sent prophets into all nations, each furnished with his instructions and doctrines agreeable to the genius of the people whom they were to teach; and that he is not displeased at the various rites and ceremonies

by which every distinct region and climate adore his Divine Unity.

Satisfy me in this, and then thou shalt be more than Apollo in my esteem ; for I am full of doubts.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1675.

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## B O O K II.

### LETTER I.—To DGNET OGLOU.

SOMETIMES I could wish myself without a spleen, it overwhelms me in such deep melancholies ; yet when I consider the same vital is a necessary instrument of mirth and laughter, I reverse that wish again ; not that I am fond of a levity which makes us resemble apes rather than men, though the philosophers say the contrary ; but I correct my partial thoughts, which would lay the fault on my body, when my mind is chiefly to blame ; for he that is master of his reason need not fall into either extreme, to be always grinning like Democritus, or howling with Heraclitus. Resignation and tranquillity are the golden mean ; and he that steps over this line, on one side or other, falls into the same vanity which he bemoans or ridicules in the rest of mortals.

I have studied to know this world, and the nature of all things, but am never the wiser, after so many years of search ; I have perused many books, and conversed with more men, yet none of them all can inform me of a certainty what I am myself ; how then should I be able to comprehend the essences of other things ? Henceforth I will lay aside this inquisitive folly, and be careless, till

death shall either quite extinguish so troublesome a passion, or fully satisfy it with new discoveries.

In that separate state, I hope to see in open light the naked forms of things, without the interposition of a veil or glass to thicken and dusk the prospect; whereas in this life, we are fain to peep into the world through the close windows of our senses, which are so overlaid and darkened with the dust our passions raise, besides the natural dulness of their composition, that we are fain to run from pannel to pannel, and use the optics of philosophy to help our sight; yet, after all, we still are purblind, and so are like to be during this mortal life; but when once this prison of ours shall be demolished by a tempest of misfortune, or by some sudden disaster, or it shall moulder away through sickness, age, and native weakness, thus crumbling to its primitive dust, then shall the soul expand itself, and fly at large in the open firmament of wisdom, light, and science.

My Dnnet, let thou and I be content to bear the inconveniences of these earthly cages for a while, and in a little time we shall be consigned over to eternal liberty. I designed to have said more, but I tell thee I am too melancholy; therefore adieu for the present.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1675.

II.—To HAMET, REIS EFFENDI, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

It is above ten years ago since I gave thee an account of the renowned Marechal de Turenne, wherein I did not pretend his complete history, or present thee with his full character, but only to inform thee of some remarkable passages in his life, and to draw an imperfect

idea of his virtues, which though they were very great, yet were not sufficient to screen him from the chance of war, and the stroke of a violent death.

On the six-and-twentieth of the moon of July, this great general having given all necessary orders for a battle with the Imperialists in Alsatia, was surveying a certain raised ground near Strasburgh, on which he designed to plant a battery, when a cannon shot from the town, guided by fate more than by the gunner's aim or skill, came grazing along on the earth, and in its career gave this hero a mortal blow on the breast, of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

There was an officer of the artillery in his company, who spied the course of the bullet at a distance, and happily started out of the way. He reports, that Monsieur Turenne saw the same, but whether out of the greatness of his spirit, which would not suffer him to appear timorous of death, or whether his extreme thoughtfulness on the approaching battle, kept him from providing for his own safety, it is certain he stood immovable, and sustained the fatal stroke which cost him his life.

The court of France laments his death with extraordinary demonstrations of sorrow, and so does all the kingdom; indeed they have reason, France having never sent into the field a man more accomplished with all the virtues and heroic qualities requisite in a great general.

They relate two or three remarkable passages of his life, which either happened since I wrote my former letter to thee about him, or at least they came not to my knowledge at that time.

One was a little after his brother the Duke of Bouillon's death, when he was seen to weep very affectionately,



though he endeavoured to hide his passion from the observation of others ; which was taken notice of as an argument of his compassionate temper, and that all the blood which had been spilt in his fight, and under his conduct, had not diminished his natural tenderness and humanity.

He was sincerely modest, without giving the world any occasion to judge that he only affected to appear so ; for when any of his friends or creatures would run into hyperboles in extolling his actions, he would not, by a feigned humility, and denying all they said, lay a train for greater flatteries, but he so discreetly moderated his answers, that at the same time he appeared sensible of his true merit, without the least symptom of arrogance or vain glory.

So when some lords came to condole the loss of his brother, that they might comfort him, they turned the discourse to a panegyric on himself, highly extolling the whole series of his heroic performances ; but looking on them with a steadfast gravity, and fetching a deep sigh, he replied, “ It is the opinion of the world that I am something versed in the affairs of war ; it would be an ungrateful presumption to oppose the public sentiment ; but I can assure you, there is nothing more certain than that much of my knowledge in this kind is owing to my deceased brother, who by rules taught me many advantageous improvements of martial discipline ; and I learned not a little from his own exemplary conduct.”

Another remark they make is on the liberality of this general, and his contempt of riches ; for he really impoverished himself to reward and gratify his friends ; it being a word very common in his mouth, “ That he would live on the king’s pay, and his friends should live on his estate.” Yet he was but a younger brother ; which made

his wife often say, "That were it not for the king's money, her husband entertained such a retinue of noble beggars about him, that she feared both he and she must in a little time take up the same trade, and turn mendicants themselves."

It is credibly reported of this great man, that he set his heart so little on money as not to know one piece of coin from another, nor their different value in exchange.

Once he was heard to say these words to some of the nobles, who were discoursing on wealth, "I wonder (said he) what pleasure men can take in hoarding up great heaps of money : For my part, if at the end of the year I should find in my coffers a great treasure of gold left, it would nauseate me as much as if just when I had made a full dinner, I should be forced to sit still and glut myself by eating of the same dishes over again."

And that which is most to be admired is, that even in his old age, to which avarice is so natural, his purse was always open, and he gave away his money as liberally as in his youth ; so that when he was dead, they could find no more than five hundred crowns in his keeping ; besides he died much in debt, which he contracted on the army's account, that they should not want their pay in due season ; but it is said the king either has discharged these debts, or will do it in a little time.

He was a man of no great presence, either for tallness or graceful features, being of an ordinary size, and heavy countenance, with a mien and air more like a citizen or a mechanic than a soldier, which justifies the old proverb, "That the face is not always the true index of the heart ;" for all the world knows that he was a man of great resolution and bravery.

They attribute many of his victories to his regular and sage conduct, others to his fortune ; whilst they cannot

deny that some were owing entirely to the force of his invincible courage.

It were easy to relate many instances of this kind; but I will not tire thy patience; my letter is already stretched beyond its designed limits, yet it comes far short of reaching the character of this prince; however it would be invidious not to inform thee of all I know concerning him worth observation.

In the time of the civil wars, after he had abandoned the party of the malcontents, and was made general of one of the king's armies, he gave an admirable proof of his undaunted valour; for when he had but three thousand five hundred men with him, and those in a manner hemmed in by fourteen thousand of the rebels, so that there was but one pass left whereby he might escape, and he was strongly pressed to make use of that advantage; "No, (says he) I will not any longer live to see my sovereign shut out of his own cities; Orleans barred her gates against him, even whilst the king's forces were entire, before they had received any loss or defeat, and can we expect they will be any where more favourable to him, when they shall behold us flying from our victorious enemies? No, this fatal day shall either put a check to their success, or give a period to my life." And the event answered his expectation; for he entered into battle with the Prince of Conde, and routed all his forces; ever since which he has done the French king so many eminent services, as amply made amends for his two years' revolt.

He is now gone to the other world, not as to a campaign, but to celebrate an eternal triumph among the famous heroes of the earth.

The king has, in honour of his merits, caused his body to be buried in the temple of St. Denis, where all

the blood-royal of France is repositèd, showing in this how little difference he makes between him that sits on the throne, and him that well supports it.

Illustrious Hamet, I pray Heaven inspire the Sultan to reward thee and all his faithful ministers and brave generals with particular honours, proportionate to every man's distinct merits and services. \* Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 9.h Moon, of the year 1675.

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### III.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THERE happen many remarkable events in a year, which I cannot presently transmit an account of for want of timely intelligence. My letters are often finished and sealed, and sometimes sent away before I hear of the taking of such a city or strong hold, of this victory on the French side, or that success on the part of their enemies, the Germans, Spaniards, and Hollanders; and I do not think it worth while to trouble the ministers of the Porte with an after-dispatch, only to inform them of some siege, battle, or other petty occurrence, as oft as they come to my knowledge; choosing rather to recapitulate in one letter at the end of the year, all such passages as were omitted before, that so my intelligence, however disjointed and parcelled out into fragments, may yet at last be set together again, and made entire.

Thus the taking of Belligand in Roussillon from the Spaniards, by the Marechal de Schomberg, was not a matter of that importance as to deserve a particular letter on purpose to keep time with action; yet it is convenient to insert it in this summary of transactions omitted in my former letters, that so the Ottoman register may not be

imperfect and defective. This fortress was taken about midsummer, after an intrenchment of seven days.

But fortune, though she seems to have declared in favour of the French arms, yet, to show her inconstancy, sometimes turns her smiles into frowns, and seems for a while to leave them in the lurch.

On the 11th of the 8th moon, there happened an accident at Treves, which occasioned the loss of that town to the confederate enemies of France, and a little clouded the glory of the Marechal de Crequi's arms, who had hitherto fought successfully, and gained the reputation of a very wise and prudent general.

It seems the governor of Treves, whom they call the Sieur Vignory, had orders to come out of the town that very day, and join the Marechal de Crequi with five thousand men of the garrison, to put in execution some design they had upon the confederate forces, which lay not far off. The governor, in compliance with the order, was marching his men over a bridge, when his horse suddenly starting at the discharge of a pistol, fell with his rider into the ditch, where they both perished. Now this unfortunate gentleman not having discovered his secret order to any person living, his lieutenant being ignorant of the design, and troubled at this unhappy accident, caused the five thousand men to march back again into the town; in the mean time, the Marechal de Crequi in vain expected the coming of these recruits, and finding himself too weak to resist the more numerous troops of his enemies, was forced to give way, whilst they advanced to besiege the town, the main thing which he aimed to prevent. In this strait he had nothing else to do but to throw himself with his forces into the town; that so his presence might supply the dead governor's place, till the king's pleasure were known. He defend-

ed the place with much resolution and bravery ; but by the treachery of a certain captain belonging to the garrison, it was at length taken, after abundance of bloodshed. This traitor's name was Bosejourdan ; he held a private correspondence with the enemy, informed them of the disadvantages the town lay under, corrupted several of the garrison, and did all things that might facilitate the reduction of the place ; for which he was deservedly hanged, having been delivered into the hands of the French by those who, though they made use of the treason, yet could not but abhor the traitor.

The Imperialists took courage upon this success, and began to think that since the death of Mareschal Turenne, fortune had abandoned the interest of France, and entered into the confederacy with them. Hereupon Count Montecuculi, on the 20th of the 8th moon, invested Haguenau, a strong place in the hands of the French ; but the approach of the Prince of Condé soon made him raise the siege ; since which there has been little of action on either side, save the taking of Thuin, a town situated on the Sombre, and which commands all the country between that river and the Meuse. It was surrendered to the French about the beginning of the 11th moon, on condition that the privileges of the inhabitants should be preserved, and that they should not be forced to maintain the king's garrison.

There have been lately some seditions in the provinces of Bretagne and Guienne, said to be secretly abetted by the parliaments of Bourdeaux and Rennes ; for which the king has signified his displeasure, by removing those assemblies to other places, after having inflicted severe and exemplary punishments on the ringleaders of the tumults.

And now this monarch seems to be weary of the fatigues of war, having published a manifesto, wherein he

complain, of the injury done to Prince William of Fur-  
stemberg, plenipotentiary from the Bishop of Cologne;  
declares that he had reason to show his resentments of an  
affront given to his ally contrary to the law of nations;  
that nevertheless he had laboured for the general peace  
of Christendom, and was now in the same inclination:  
On which account he sent the Sieur Colbert, master of  
the requests, and the Count d'Avaux to Nimeguen, there  
to assist at the conferences of peace.

Some say this proposition to peace is the effect of a  
vow the king made, when he was lately afflicted with a  
violent fever. Be it how it will, the captains and soldiers  
on all sides are agreed to cease from acts of hostility dur-  
ing this cold season, finding it much more comfortable to  
wallow in beds of down, than to lie abroad in the snow,  
and to lay close siege to a good fire, than to campaign it  
in trenches full of water and ice.

Illustrious minister, I pray God make thee happy all  
the four seasons of the year; but especially to give thee  
his winter's blessing, a warm house, an agreeable bed-fel-  
low, plenty of the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus, a merry  
heart, and a good stomach.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1675

IV.—To ABDEL MELEC, MULI OMAR, *President of the  
College of Sciences at Fez.*

THY packet came just now to my hands, in an hour of  
felicities, under a noble and propitious asterism; the con-  
stellations above smile on Mahmut at this season; a thousand  
soft and serene pleasures distil upon my soul; a pearl of  
heavenly dew sits on every blooming thought; my heart

is like a garden in the mornings of an autumn solstice, fresh and fragrant, though drooping for age.

I have spent the spring and summer of my life in error, ignorance, and vanity ; it is time that I should provide for the winter of my age a stock of solid wisdom and virtue ; and heaven, to show its love and care of mortals, inspired thee with the generous thoughts of assisting me once more by thy sage instructions. Thy dispatch contains such a scheme of philosophy and reason as never can be refuted ; thou art the Apollo of the age.

Glory be to God, majestic, living, and strong, eternal father and source of lights, fountain of intellectual perfections, original treasury of reason, with whom remain from everlasting ages the ideas of all things past, present, and to come, the patterns of things visible and invisible, the exemplars of every thing that has, had, shall, or can have existence in the universe : Blessed be the Word and Breath of God, the Spirit of life and understanding, which in the determined periods of time enters into holy souls, making them the favourites of the Most High and prophets.

That spirit descends sometimes, and on some persons, like a gentle shower in harvest, but on thee it pours down like the rivers from paradise, in vast and mighty cataracts ; wisdom overflows thy soul as the Nile ; the streams thereof are strong and rapid as the currents of Tigris and Euphrates ; rich and inebriating as the waters of Jordan ; thy mind is covered with a deluge of science.

O immortal wisdom ! blessed is the man that has thee for his portion in this life ! The gold has no value or beauty when compared with thee ; the diamond and sapphire fade and look dull ; and the choicest pearls of the Orient lose their lustre in thy presence. Doubtless wisdom shines for ever, and is incorruptible ; it is a pure re-



splendent essence flowing from the eternal glory, a sincere emanation from the divine nature, the spotless mirror of God, wherein he beholds his own immortal excellencies ; it is ten thousand times more serene than the light itself, brighter than the sun, purer than the sky, and more sparkling than all the host of the stars ; the glittering crowd of angels are eclipsed in her presence, and all the radiant orders of the blessed above serve but as foils to set forth her superlative and all-penetrating condescensions.

God brought her forth from the womb of his unfathomable depth ; she sprung from the treasures which cannot be exhausted ; in the morning of the world she roused the benumbed chaos with her efficacious beams ; her energy gave life and form to the confused and dark abyss ; she shines from one extremity of the universe to another, illuminating infinite spaces ; she is a refulgent circle of light, whose centre is every where, but whose circumference is not to be found.

Ask those who pitch their pavilions above all worlds, the outlying camps of the Omnipotent, who guard the frontiers of the blissful regions, and walk the rounds of our remotest heaven, the *cælum empyreum*, to fire its beacons on the discovery of any foreign invasion threatened by some new upstart republic of *Jehings*, hatched in the cold and frozen climates of the endless expanse ; ask these, I say, whether they ever could trace the eternal wisdom in her flights, or find the solitary haunts of everlasting reason ? They may pursue the glorious chase ~~over~~ the untraced wastes of the unlimited, unformed, first matter, as well as through the fenced fields and parks, the inclosed land-marked grounds of this known world ; but all in vain ; there is no catching what is infinite ; the wings of all created fancies are too short and weak ; the cherubims themselves and seraphims are far too slow to seize so

swift a prey ; wisdom is wild as chance, concealed as nature, yet fixed as destiny.

She dwells beyond the highest heavens ; her throne is inaccessible, yet she fills all things with her presence ; she sought for a place of repose on earth among the sons of men ; she traversed the nations by land, and visited the isles of the sea ; she descended into the abysses below, and made her scrutiny in the horrid caverns of the globe ; at length she found her rest in Abraham, and pitched her habitation in Ismael, because it was so determined of old from sempiternal ages, and recorded in the archives of fate.

She was established in Mecca, the birth-place of the prophet, and her power is rooted in Medina Telnabi, the place of his burial ; the holy cities are ennobled by her presence, and she shines in the midst of an honourable race, an offspring born to glory, a renowned people, a sanctified progeny, a generation of worthies, a family of heroes, a lineage whereon rests the favours and smiles of the Omnipotent.

Oh, Arabia ! well mayest thou be called the Happy, since in thee is the seat of the eternal sapience. Go mourn, ye mountains of Judea ! and all ye desolate valleys of Palestine ! for the dew and the rain have forsaken you. Your soil languishes for want of moisture, and your glebe is dried up ; your trees wither and fade ; neither does the ground bring forth any grass or flowers ; the pastures are become like a wilderness, over-run with briars and thorns, and your arable fields are as the Lybian wastes, barren and unprofitable. The land that was once called holy, is now become execrable, a habitation of satyrs and demons, because wisdom has translated her residence from Sion, and the angels have decamped from the climate of Jerusalem.

Rejoice, O regions bordering on the east of the Red

Sea ! for with you is a great light, even the law brought down from heaven, and the glory of the Most High overshadows you.

Wisdom is exalted in Arabia ; she lifts up her head above the top of Mount Uriel ; she flourishes like the palm-tree, and spreads her boughs as the terebinth ; many nations rest under the shadow of her wide-spread branches ; her ways are uniform and beautiful, like an alley of cypresses, and all her paths are sweet as a garden of cinnamon, myrrh, and roses ; her fruit feeds the East and the South ; her salutiferous leaves are scattered from India to the land of the Moors, where thou dwellest ; her fragrant odour is diffused from pole to pole.

She is the mother of science and virtue ; in her custody are the springs of life and health, of honour and riches ; she has in her treasures locked up innumerable kinds of felicities, which she plentifully pours forth on them that obey her inspirations ; she appears cheerfully to them that wait upon her, and no man ever departed from her presence but he fell into sadness ; for a certain enlivening influence flows from her countenance ; a man is ravished with her conversation ; her breath is sweeter than ambrosia, or the vapour of eastern incense ; her thoughts are fragrant as the aromatic exhalations of nardus, onyx, and stacte ; all words are too short to express her praises, neither is there any style or language that can describe her incomparable worth ; therefore, with reverence I desist from saying any more at this time on so sublime a subject, lest while I am prolonging the panegyric of wisdom, I proclaim my own folly to a sage who is familiar with her, and best knows her character.

In the mean time, vouchsafe to accept of these lines as a testimony of the profound veneration I have for thee, who art known through all Afric and other parts of the

world to be one of the first rank among wisdom's favourites.

Adieu, great Lamp of Mauritania, and believe that Mahmut is no flatterer.

Paris, 17th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1676

V.—To the CAPTAIN BASSA.

IF I write often to the bassas of the land, I do not forget the duty I owe to him of the sea; only that element has not been the stage of so many remarkable actions as the other; there are no forts, castles, or strong cities built upon the waves; no settled camps, or formal sieges, unless it be upon the frozen seas within or near the Arctic circle, and there they only imitate the trade of war to exercise their youth.

However, on the other parts of the ocean there are flying campaigns, battles en passant; and this year has afforded some main engagements between the French, Hollanders, and Spaniards, not altogether unworthy of thy knowledge.

On the 8th of the 1st moon, there happened a naval fight between the Sieur de Quefne, lieutenant-general of the French fleets, and De Ruiter, vice-admiral of the Dutch, wherein the latter suffered considerable damage; but far greater was their loss on the 22d of the fourth moon following, when the famous de Ruiter was killed, and several of the Dutch ships sunk, burnt, and taken. Yet that which makes the greatest noise, was a battle fought on the 2d of this present moon, between the Maréchal de Vivonne, commander of the French fleet on the coast of Sicily, and the united naval forces of Spain and Holland.

I have a particular account of this combat, and because I know thou delightest in relations of this nature, I will acquaint thee in short, how they first encountered each other, and what methods the French used to gain a glorious victory over two fleets much more numerous in ships than their own.

It was not far from the old dangerous strait between Charybdis and Scylla, where the Duke de Vivonne descried the hostile navies making toward the place where he lay with his fleet at anchor: The alarm was quickly given, and all hands to the cable; As soon as they had weighed, they made all the sail they could towards the enemy: The Spaniards and Hollanders had seven-and-twenty ships of war, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships; the French had but nineteen ships of war, seven galleys, and five fire-ships. These got the wind of their enemies, and attacked them so fiercely, that they drove several of their capital vessels on those dangerous rocks and sands, where they were lost; and they burnt thirteen more of their best ships, among which were the admiral of Spain, and the vice-admiral of Holland.

I cease to say more of this remarkable fight, save that it is esteemed only second to the famous battle of Lepanto.

Prince of the sea, I wish thee equal success whenever thou fightest against the enemies of God and his prophet.

Paris, 14th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1676.

VI.—*To the Sage of Sages, the Mysterious Erenite, the Great  
MOHAMMED of Mount Uriel in Arabia.*

THERE is no man in this mortal life, who has not changed his opinions one time or other; and whether it be an argument of wisdom or folly, knowledge or ignorance, to be thus mutable in our thoughts, we find few tenacious in their old age of the notions they entertained in their youth.

We have some natural and proleptic ideas born with us, others imposed upon us by our parents, nurses, and tutors; our infant fancies are tender, flexible, and receptive of any impressions, like gold that yields to every stamp and coin of a new sovereign. So in the mint of human conversation, our thoughts are moulded and formed by each prevailing genius that keeps us company; nay, a new book that we have an inclination for, shall quite obliterate all that before was current reason with us, and transform our faculties into another figure; so true it is that mankind delights in novelty.

Whether it be an effect of this general weakness in human nature, or of my own particular inconstancy, or, in fine, of more correct and mature consideration, I will not determine; but this I am sure of, that I cannot think now of several things as I have done formerly, without offering great violence to my present reason. I am as apt now to suspect myself of dotage at these years as other men are inclined to flatter themselves into a conceit of their own wisdom, and to boast of it to others at the same age; however, it appears evident to me, that every man's experience perfects his speculations; and he who traffics in the mart of philosophy on the stock of his own discoveries, is in a fairer way to improve himself than a man

that trades altogether on the credit of other men's conceptions.

The latter is but wisdom's factor, or he may be called a broker in the sciences, or a banker of other men's imaginations; he frequents the common exchange, or bourse, of learning; reads the books of the ancients; converses with the wits and most accomplished spirits of the present age; yet after all, he has but a retail profit; nor shall he ever have better, so long as he dares not venture something of his own.

Whereas the former is a rich substantial merchant dealing on his own bottom; he ventures on the wide ocean of the world's peevish censorious humour; runs the hazard of shipwreck, and corsairs; the winds and storms of human malice do not fright him; nor all the rocks of superstition, established by the laws of nations; no sands or shelves, or any undermining private interest, can baulk his courage, whilst he has the gales of truth and tide of primitive reason on his side; for then he knows the common fortune will be his pilot, and steer him safe through all.

From what I have said, thou wilt expect some new refined thesis to drop from my pen, some very solid dogma to be broached, after such a tedious prelude; but I tell thee plainly I hardly know what I am to write next, save only that I have some general notions different from what I had before, concerning the eternity of the world.

It was formerly my opinion, and I passed it upon all my friends, that not only the matter of the world is everlasting, but its present form also; but now I believe the contrary, on more rational grounds. It is not so perfect as I esteemed it; every year of my life convinces me of its decaying state; it manifestly droops and crumbles away; therefore, by proportion of argument we

ought to conclude, "It is corruptible in its first principles, and consequently had a beginning, and shall have an end."

I do not believe it shall be annihilated or reduced to nothing; nature abhors that thought; but it shall be changed, metamorphosed, and transformed. *Una dies dabit exitio*, One day shall consign it to ruin, as Lucretius says; and the same shall give it a brighter form than ever it had, when the earth shall become pure crystal, and the stars shall outline the sun, and the sun himself shall be dissolved into his eternal principles of light. The philosophers who have spoke of the last day, agree that the world shall be calcined by fire, especially those of the East and South; for they positively assert, "That when the moisture of the universe shall be exhausted and spent, the elements will pour forth flames, says Hermes Trismegistus; a treasury of fire, says Sophocles\*; and Ovid asserts that the seas shall be dried up, and all the firmament shall appear like a furnace; heaven and earth shall be mingled pell-mell together; the Greeks say, the world shall boil up and scum off its impurities, *παλινδορ*, with a noise like that of a tempest or a whirlwind; the Italians express it otherwise, by the sound a clock makes just before it strikes the hour; for it moves in an even and regular course, and has a steady pulse till then; but when the last minute is expired, the wheels rush all together with a louder noise; so shall the orbs above, and these inferior elements, when their course is done, break all their harmony, and with confused cracks and rattlings disgorge their essences into the lap of their eternal chaos, there to be renewed and changed again into far nobler forms, although the original substance still remains the same; for I believe the first matter to be unchangeable

\* *Πυρὸς ἀνακαίειν*. Scribitur in fatis, &c.



and eternal, without beginning or end. But there have passed many millions of ages, in the production of such an infinite variety of forms; perhaps the grounds of astrology are true, and that there were of ~~but~~ certain periods of time affixed, first for the product of the heavenly signs and constellations, then for the planets, and afterwards for the nativity of all the other beings below the moon. But Moses, the lawgiver and chief philosopher of the Jews, is of a contrary judgment; for he says, the vegetables had existence before the stars: And so one does not know what to think among them all. For ought I know, any man's reason might be received with as much applause as that of Moses, who should assert, "That there are certain horses formed of the purest light, galloping up and down the infinite expanse for an indeterminate series of ages, the dust of whose feet first raised the elements out of nothing, and then their hoofs striking against the original flints of nature, ~~beget~~ <sup>beget</sup> the sparks which shall set the world a-fire, at last." And God knows whether the late conflagration at the imperial city was not owing to a scratch of one of those horses nails, though they are pleased to lay it on the giasres and ky-silbaschi.

By my soul, I believe all things proceed from eternal chance. All that we admire so much in the world, is a mere higgledy-piggledy of things which may be, or may not be, only they are; and so we must not quarrel with any thing that has existence. We behold the sun, moon, and stars over our heads; they give us their successive light by night and day; we trample upon the earth under our feet, and sail on the open sea, to which we can give no great trust; at the same time, we know not the natures of these different beings; the sun may be but an eternal carbuncle, for ought we know, and the moon but

a crested sapphire, the rest of the planets but the refractions of these bright essences, and all the fixed stars, but so many splinters of the eternal torch which lights the world; and after all the rest, this earth whereon we tread may be but a wart or mole, a little silly excrescence or superfluous tumor of the elements, if not a gangrene in nature.

Oh Mohammed! I have said too much to a man of thy abstruse speculations, but thou wilt pardon one that speaks with faith and sincerity.

Let me put in one word more with thee, Oh, chief of the solitaires! prince of the sultans! glory of Arabia! thou hidden one of the East! thou phoenix of all generations! Nobody was born for himself; nobody is wise at all times; and this is a particular season wherein the Grand Signior's service requires me to be, as it were, a little foolishly merry. Therefore, begging thy pardon and prayers, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 13th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1676.

VII.—*To PESTELI HALI, his Brother, Master of the Customs, and Superintendant of the Arsenal at Constantinople*

It will do thee no hurt to carry the following news to Hamed Reis Effendi: I intrench on the post's time and my own health, it being very late in the night, on purpose that the ministers of the Porte may have the earliest account of the taking of Philippsburgh from the French, by the confederate princes and states.

This is a town of great importance, and very strong: The Spaniards became masters of it in the year 1633, through the treachery of the governor; next year follow-

ing, the Swedes put it again in the French king's hands, but that monarch, not being able to repair its fortifications, by reason of the winter, it was surpris'd by the Imperialists on the 23d of the first moon 1635, in whose hands it remained till the year 1644, when in the 9th moon it was taken by the Duke Enguien, now Prince of Condé, after he routed the Duke of Bavaria at Freibourg. The French have had it in possession ever since that time, till about four days ago it was surr'ndered, upon conditions, to the Imperialists, who had blocked it up above a year, and formally besieged it four moons.

It is a loss which this court resents with no small grief, Philipsburgh being a town of more value than twenty others in those parts. The French have taken Condé, Bouchain, and Aire, but they do not think these an equivalent reprisal, neither can this campaign last long enough to give them an opportunity of seeking farther satisfaction.

Brother, I must conclude abruptly, because the post tarries. God have thee in his keeping, and preserve thee from the snares and malicious ambushes of devils, who are let loose from their infernal dens to range above ground from this hour to the crowing of the cocks.

Paris, 12th of the 9th Moon, of the 1644.

VIII.—To SEPHER, ABERCROMIL, VANNI, EFFENDI,  
*Preacher to the Sultan.*

ABOUT five years ago I sent thee a dispatch, containing an account of the kind reception thy doctrine found in Europe, and of the swift progress they made in converting the honest sort of Nazerenes; I also acquainted thee with the opposition that was made against the writ-

ings of Francis Malevella, by the Jesuits and Dominicans; now I shall inform thee farther of the prodigious advances this sacred institution of life has made in Italy, France, and Spain, with Germany, and other regions in the West.

There is an eminent man in Rome, whom they call Father Petrucci, a person of great learning and conspicuous knowledge; his piety indeed has been by him industriously concealed, as much as lay in his power, but yet his most reclude good works took air, and all men of integrity conceive a veneration for him. He having read the works of Malevella, grew enamoured of so sublime a system of spiritual rules, and wrote to all his friends, by way of recommendation of the author and his subject; those letters afterwards were put in print, and it is not to be expressed what powerful influence they had on all impartial readers. He published also many learned treatises, in the defence and praise of a contemplative life; and the reputation of this refined theology daily increased, and spread abroad in every corner of the Christian world.

Among the rest of learned profelytes, a certain Spanish priest, and doctor of the Christian law, whom they call Michael de Molino, appeared upon the stage; and in the year 1675 published a comprehensive treatise of mystical religion. The book was approved and licensed by the archbishop of Rheggio, by the general of the Franciscans, an officer of the Inquisition, and by Martin de Esparza, an eminent jesuit belonging to the same court, and professor of theology at Rome. The press had no sooner delivered this mysterious treatise to the world, but every body caught it up; so that the first edition being soon dispersed in Rome, Ferrara, Naples, and other cities of Italy, it was necessary to start a new impression of so acceptable a thing, that the remaining provinces, states,



an apartment in his own palace, and done him many other honours; in a word, he is grown so considerable, that the greatest part of the Nazarenes look upon him as a prophet sent from God.

I take complacency to see Mahometanism thus masquerade it in the heart of Christendom, and the most refined draught of our religion copied in the lives and practices of the most excellent among the Nazarenes. It is a fair sign, methinks, that by degrees they will inquire a little farther, and with more humility, into our sacred law, that they will not stumble at circumcision, washing, and other purifications and ceremonies appointed by the prophet, since they are all performed in honour of the Eternal Unity, and not to images or pictures. However, at least, such pious and contemplative men as these, will, by a necessary consequence, raise up a secret faction for ~~us~~ and qualify the bitter zeal and spite which Christians generally bear against the true believers; for the followers of Malevella, Petrucci, and Molino, are already branded, and distinguished from the rest of the Nazarenes by the odious name of heretics, which is next door to the more opprobrious title of infidels, the best and kindest epithet they can afford the faithful mussulmans.

To sum up all in brief, they reckon an hundred thousand of this new sect in Italy, as many more in France and Spain, and not much fewer in Germany, besides Poland, Hungary, and other regions; so that if an army of mussulmans should appear on the Italian shores with Vani Effendi at the head of them, and a declaration should be spread about, containing that you aim at nothing but to propagate the truth, and to protect the injured molinists or quietists (for so they nickname this contemplative sect), they would all rise and fly to the Ma-

hometan standard, as formerly the malcontents of Italy did to the asylum of Romulus. God's will be done.

• Paris, 2d of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1676.

IX.—*To MIRMADOLIN, Santone of the Vale of Sidon.*

BLESSED are they who honour the virtues of holy men, and strive to imitate their examples. The infidels count them mad whom the great lord of all things has inspired with his love, which is the spirit or breath of the Omnipotent, giving life to all things; their souls are snatched away in sacred ecstasies; they are carried to the bright shining worlds; borne up on the wings of a wind from paradise; they behold marvellous things, and the wonders of the sky; wafted from star to star, they are ravished with the sight of so many radiant splendours, and expire in transports of divine pleasure, when they consider the beautiful economy of the universe.

O Ariel! chief of the choirs above, who settest the tunes of the spheres, and art master of the eternal music; who taughtest Sultan David to play on the harp, and learnedst him the songs of paradise; send down some azure messenger, some purpled post from Eden, to inspire my soul with divine harmonies, whilst I celebrate the praises of Alla, the first and the last, whose glory is expanded through the infinite abyss, and enlightens endless spaces. The whole universe is full of his majesty, but the place of his retirement is above the heaven of heavens; there he keeps his court, guarded by seventy times seven millions of angels, who always stand on their watch to prevent the invasions of Orosmales the prince of darkness, the root and source of all evil.

God came from heaven in the days of Moses, with an

army not to be numbered ; Michael was his standard-bearer, whose chariot was a carbuncle of paradise ; they marched through the milky way, and made their descent on the rock of the desert Sinai ; the artillery of the celestial host was thunder and lightning ; they were encompassed with thick clouds of smoke ; the world was affrighted at the dreadful noise, and Orosmades durst not appear to abide the battle, but fled into the caverns of the earth with all his legions, where they are barred up to the day of judgment ; they often strive to break loose, which occasions horrid earthquakes, but the chain which binds them is fastened to the throne of God ; he keeps the keys of those infernal prisons, and bars up all the avenues of hell ; there darkness, horror, and pain have taken up their residence for ever ; one abyss supplies another with eternal floods of confusion and misery ; but above the surface of the earth he has established light, liberty, joy, and peace, to them that revolt not from his love and obedience.

God came from Arval, and the holy one was seen to fly from the thickets of Schair in the East ; he bent his course towards the Red Sea, and pitched his tents in the meridian of Mecca. On that day the kebla was turned towards the South, and the faces of the faithful, in time of prayer, regarded the house of Abraham, the square temple, and the place appointed by destiny for the tomb of the prophet. Then Medina Telnabi became bright and illustrious ; the glory of Jerusalem faded, and was eclipsed at the dawning splendour of this new sanctuary, a city ennobled by the presence of deputies from heaven, even Gabriel and Israphiel, who came down to visit the determined place of the prophet's rest.

They brought with them rules and models of divine architecture, that the dormitory of the messenger of God



might be majestic and glorious. They disclosed their errand to Zaphid and Al-Képher, two cunning artificers in the city, and showed them the celestial pattern of the sculpture; these kept secret the matter till the time was accomplished which the angels enjoined them; then they declared themselves, and undertook the building of a fabric, which has rendered Medina famous throughout the world.

Oh Medina Teluabi! how sweet is thy name among the mussulmans! The roads of Asia and Africa are covered with the caravans of such as bring presents unto thee, the devout pilgrims who travel from far to kiss the pavement of the temple where the bones of our divine lawgiver are reposed.

I saw the elephants and dromedaries of the East with joy bow down and couch to the earth, while sacred burdens were laid on their backs; the camels also of the south of Egypt, and the land of Moors; they performed the sacred pilgrimage with humility and resignation; they fasted four, five, ten, or fourteen days each, as they were able, in token of their devotion and thankfulness, in that they were permitted the honour of visiting the holy region, and the sepulchre of him who taught the dumb beasts the discipline of wisdom, and the way to paradise.

Ever since that time the animal generations have instructed each other in the precepts of the prophet who could neither write nor read; in their mate language they perform morning and evening the appointed orisons, and preach to their young ones by inarticulate sounds the doctrines of faith clear and intelligible.

Oh Mohammed! every letter of thy mysterious name is full of benediction and praise; each syllable is compounded of secrets not to be revealed till the consumma-

tion of all things ; thou art a treasury of wonders which cannot be exhausted or valued.

I heard the eastern wind record thy praises on a flute, whilst gentle zephyrs blew soft vocal harmonies, wherein were often celebrated the glorious names of Mahomet and Hali ; to these great Boreas joined in concert with his deep-lunged organ, sweetened in counter-tenor by the southern wind ; they whistled, sung, and played in parts, till all the younger sons of Æolus came in to fill the choir ; then was the music loud and shrill ; it awakened all the woods and forests on the earth, the trees and all the vegetable race struck up in unison with the winds, the birds put in their cheerful notes, the streams and rivers murmured grateful airs, the sea raised up her billows to the clouds, whilst jovial tritons sounded high leveys of marine, answered in verse by rumbling timbrels of the sky ; there was an universal joy and rant ; nature herself was in a frolic, and kept holiday.

Why did the Most High decamp from Arval, and the Eternal remove his residence from Schair in the East ? Why did he cause his armies to lie down in the South, and his pavilions to cover the regions of Mecca ? Doubtless he did all this in honour of the law which he sent from heaven, and of the birth-place of his favourite, that all nations might know and confess, " That there is but one God, and Mahomet his apostle." The beasts of the earth acknowledge this, the fowls also of the air, and the fish of the sea ; the elements, and inanimate beings are sensible of a joy which they cannot express, and the universe is all dissolved in rapture, whilst it lies stretched out at large, unfolded into endless skirts, and rests forever on the all-propping Unity.

Mirmadolin, I am part of the universe, and therefore cannot but be touched with a sense of the bliss which at

certain seasons transports the whole. Thou who art always in a divine ecstasy, wilt not wonder at the short enthusiasms of thy slave Mahmut, who covets nothing more ambitiously than to imitate thy blameless life.

Farewell, in God; for we cannot be out of him, so long as we are in ourselves.

Paris, 17th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1677.

*X.—To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE French are resolved to make bold efforts this campaign, to repair the loss of Philipsburgh, which was taken from them last year; the king is impatient of any check given to the progress of his arms, and spares neither men nor money to keep up the reputation and fame of a conqueror; and if this character (grown familiar to him, as it were, by prescription, after a long and almost uninterrupted series of victories), happen at any time to be lessened by some unsuccessful attempt upon the enemy, he cannot be at rest till he has recovered it again by such renowned exploits as may be answerable to the greatness of his soul, and the formidable puissance of his sword, known to all Europe.

He has many and great armies in pay; and whether it be an effect of his fortune or his judgment, it is observed that he is always blessed with the ablest generals in Christendom.

The first thing he enterprised was the siege of Valenciennes, a city seated on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands, a very important place, and considerable for its commerce, inhabited also by a stout warlike people, and of very difficult access, by reason of a certain river, with whose waters they can at pleasure drown all

the country round about. It was invested by the Duke of Luxemburgh on the 28th of the 2d moon, and formally besieged on the 4th of the 3d; on the 17th there was a general assault given, and the French entered the town, which so terrified the inhabitants, that they threw themselves upon the king's mercy; he accepted their submissions, and so put a stop to the common violence in such cases.

Another time this had been enough to have crowned a whole campaign, and satisfied the ambition of the French generals, but now the remembrance of last year's loss and disgrace spurs them on to new revenges; and to convince the world that this monarch is not easily to be daunted, but that he is jealous of his glory, he has, since the taking of Valenciennes, besieged two strong cities, Cambray and St. Omers.

The former of these is esteemed one of the strongest places in all Flanders; it is situated on the river Escaut, and was the ancient patrimony of the French crown ever since the reign of Clodion II. King of France, who made himself master of it in the year 445 of the Christians hegira; afterwards it fell to the share of Charles the Bald in the year 843, and in the year 870 it became the occasion of a war between the Kings of France, the Emperors, and the Counts of Flanders, in which contest one of the Baldwins got it, and left it to his son; but Charles V. overreached him, and by means of the bishop's correspondence took possession of the place; he put a strong garrison in it, and built a citadel, which rendered the town almost impregnable. In process of time it fell into the hands of the Duke of Alanson, brother to Henry III., when he was made Count of Flanders, in the year 1582; but in the year 1595 the Spaniards took it, and have held it ever since, till the 6th of

the 4th moon of this present year, when the gates were set open to let in the French troops, and on the 17th the citadel was surrendered upon articles.

As for St. Omers, it is a great city, and well fortified, having on one side the river Aa, with its marshes, and on the other being defended by a castle, flanked with good ballions, and encompassed with an extreme broad and deep ditch. About the beginning of this moon it was invested by the French king's forces, and within three or four days it was formally besieged, but not ~~gall-~~ed without a bloody combat, fought between the French and the Prince of Orange, who came with a considerable army, designing to throw succours into the place. I will not trouble thee by reciting all the particulars of the fight; only be assured, that the French got the victory, put the others to flight, remained masters of the field, took thirteen pieces of cannon, seventeen standards, ~~all the~~ enemy's baggage, and almost three thousand prisoners.

The stage of this great action was a place called Mont Cassel, not far from St. Omers; a spot of ground observed to have once before been propitious to the French arm., when Philip of Valois fought there, with the Spaniards, and gave them an entire defeat. He was reckoned the valiantest prince of that age. ~ ~ ~

The inhabitants of St. Omers, hearing of the defeat that was given to the Prince of Orange, were in so great a consternation, that in a few days they voluntarily surrendered to the French king.

Illustrious kaimacham, this puissant monarch takes such wise methods, as thou wilt say cannot fail in the ordinary course of war to bring him success; he is an excellent paymaster, and never gives occasion for his soldiers to repine or murmur for want of their daily allowance, nor puts them upon impatient expectations of their

arrears; on the contrary, he is very munificent and liberal to all men of merit; and the meanest soldier who signalises himself by any notable exploit or action of bravery, is sure to be distinguished from the rest by some royal reward in money, if he be not advanced to the dignity of a commander, and sometimes they are honoured with both. This conduct makes his men fight like lions, each being egulous of his fellows, and all freely hazarding their lives to gain their master's esteem, counting that the most glorious post which is most exposed to danger.

He is severe to those provinces and towns which refuse to submit to his arms, and full of clemency to such as willingly embrace his government.

In a word, his donatives and largesses to his own, his condescensions, and the immunities he gives to others, together with the exactness of his justice to all, to facilitate the progress of his arms, increase his conquests, and render him the greatest prince in the western parts.

Sage minister, I kiss the hem of thy vest, and with humble obeisance retire from thy presence.

Paris, 27th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1677.

XI.—To HAMET, R<sup>IS</sup> EFFENDI, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

THE love of women is natural to our sex, and there is no man who at one time or other has not felt the warmth of this amorous passion; but it is strange to observe after what a different manner this flame discovers itself in people of various nations, ages, qualities, fortunes, and constitutions; young men are lascivious and ardent in their love; old men are ridiculous and formal:

the poor man studies to please his mistress by abject submissions and humble obsequiousness; the rich strives to win her by munificent gifts and presents; the vulgar make their court by feasting the coy damsel, and regaling her with junkets and wine; the noble entertain her with plays, masquerades, ballets, and other pompous diversifements.

The ingenious Italian sets upon his mistress with a kind of polished wantonness; not making romantic, whining addresses, but with a refined impudence, his eyes, his hands, his tongue, and all his actions soon make her sensible where his pain lies; he celebrates her praises in verse, and hires music to serenade her; finally, he never leaves till he gains her, or revenges himself on his rival, by sending him out of the world, and on her, by turning all his compliments into curses and slanders; but if he gets her, he shuts her up for ever, and makes her chamber her prison.

The headstrong Spaniard, burning with desire, and impatient of delay, stung with restless concupiscence, behaves himself like a madman; he stamps, stares, and raves, walks furiously backward and forward, rolls his eyes after a hideous manner; he starts, stands still, lays his hand upon his sword, looks up to Heaven, invokes the saints, talks to himself, threatens the dissolution of all things, if he be baulked of his love; in this humour he runs to his mistress, falls at her feet, makes doleful and passionate complaints, throws himself upon her mercy, adores her, and does all things which are proper for a desperate lover; if by these means he enjoys her, he soon grows weary of her, and either kills her, or prostitutes her secretly for gold; but if he cannot obtain her, then he maccrates and torments himself, and is resolved to die.

Different from both these is the wanton Frenchman, who courts his mistress after a jolly fashion, with songs, dances, music, and jests; he is all life and mirth when in her company, and abounds with a thousand sorts of comical humours; if he gets her, after a little time the fickle spark is cloyed, and falls in love with another; if he fail of his purpose, he is not much concerned, for all his love was but counterfeit; yet he makes a show of discontent, he threatens and sputters at her for a while, but this tongue-tempest is soon laid, and a new face produces a calm.

But the phlegmatic German is very hard to be kindled up to this passion, and then needs a great deal of art to blow him into a flame; he is cold and wary, thoughtful and slow, provident and dull; yet, when once touched with this affection, he is very liberal of his gifts, which is the master-piece of his courtship; if he obtains his mistress, he soon returns to his primitive frigidity; and if he be frustrated, he is but where he was, far from killing himself for a peevish female.

The Frenchman professes more love than he has; the German endeavours to hide the fervour of his passion; the Spaniard persuades himself that he is beloved by his mistress; whilst the Italian takes the nearest course to be beloved by her in reality. The Frenchman loves a pleasant witty maid, though she be deformed; the Spaniard prefers beauty to wit and good humour; the Italian is for a female of a timorous spirit; whilst the German adores a virago. The Frenchman, by his wandering loves, of a wise man becomes a fool, and exchanges his health for a thousand maladies; the German, having profusely spent all in amorous liberalities, at length, from a fool, though late, becomes a wise man; the Spaniard undertakes heroic enterprises to please his mistress; whilst



the Italian despises honour, and every thing else, that he may enjoy her.

Certainly the greatest men in the world have been subject to this soft passion, and have sacrificed their reputation, glory, and virtue, with their very reason, to the regards of love. How ensnared was Mithridates in Pontus, by a beautiful woman? How did Hannibal suffer his courage to be enervated with the luxuries of Capua? So Hercules of old left the glorious toils of war, and suffered his arms to rust for the sake of his Iole; so Ulysses was captivated by Circe, Achilles by Briseis, and Cæsar by Cleopatra; and thou knowest that our annals record strange things of the amours of our glorious monarchs.

There is no nation free from the sentiments of love, yet every age and region vary in their conduct toward women. Here in the West they are all for intriguing and gallantry; they accuse the muselmans for having more wives than one, and for keeping as many concubines as they please, whilst they themselves have their wives almost in common, and lie with every wench that comes in their way; adultery passes with them for good-breeding, and fornication is esteemed as innocent an action as eating and drinking; whereas thou knowest among the true believers these crimes are punished with death. Promiscuous copulation was forbid by Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, and in general by all the prophets; it is a sufficient indulgence, that every man may marry four wives, and enjoy as many other women as he either takes captives from the enemy in wars, or purchases with his money. But these infidels had rather follow the sentiments of the old heathen lawgivers, and the examples of idolatrous nations, than obey God and his messengers; they applaud Solon, the great lawgiver of the Athenians,

calling him a wise man, as he was pronounced by the Delphic oracle, and a generous patriot, for procuring harlots to accompany the youths of the city, and building a temple to Venus out of the money they got by prostituting themselves.

It is certain whores were much esteemed in those days among the Grecians, for the magistrates built them public houses on purpose, and free for all comers; they also made laws to protect them from injuries; and so great was the veneration that besotted people had for them, that when Perses invaded Greece, the harlots of Corinth undertook to intercede for their country in the temple of Venus; nay, whatsoever extraordinary favour they had to ask of that goddess, it was done by the mediation of the whores; and there seems some reason on their side, since Venus herself was translated to heaven, and made a goddess for being the greatest whore and bawd that ever lived: She first taught the Cyprian women to prostitute their bodies for gain.

What a work did Aspasia make, who filled all Greece with whores? For the love of her and her wenches it was that Pericles begun the Peloponnesian war that lasted so many years, and is so much talked of in ancient history. There were also learned whores; as Sappho, the mistress of Phaon; Sempronia, Læna, and Leontium, who wrote publicly in vindication of their lewd practice, and inveighed against marriage. There were also noble whores; as Rhodope, who built one of the Egyptian pyramids with the money given her by the king; Thais the Corinthian, who was so surpassing beautiful, that she scorned to lie with any but kings and princes: But Messalina, the wife of Claudius Cæsar, exceeded them all in the salaciousness of her temper. I will not omit to mention Jean, Queen of Naples, who

caused her first husband to be hanged, because he could not satisfy her lust ; his name was Andrew, son to Elizabeth Queen of Hungary : Her second husband, to repair the fault of the first, so wasted his strength in the conjugal embraces, that in a little time he killed himself : Her third husband was James, King of Majorca, whom she beheaded for lying with another woman : Her fourth and last spouse was Otho Duke of Brunswick ; he lived to see her hanged in the same place where her first husband had, by her order, suffered the same fate. This was the revenge of Charles Prince of Dyrachium, confederate to Andrew before-mentioned. This lascivious queen would have the company of ten or twelve young men, one after another, the same night.

What shall I say of Semiramis, Empress of the Assyrians ; of Pasiphae, wife to Minos King of Crete ; or of an hundred other royal whores ; when it is observable, that the most illustrious heroes on earth have sprung from adulterous beds ? Witness Hercules, Alexander, Clodoveus King of the Franks, Theodoric the Goth, William the Norman, Raymir of Arragon, and many more, too tedious to be recited ; nay, few kings and princes are born of lawful mothers.

Doubtless the infidel nations live in great corruption of manners ; they confound and blend together divine and profane maxims, from whence result monstrous and abominable practices, and a general uncleanness of life in all things. But the chaste followers of Mahomet have all customs in abomination that defile the soul and rob it of its native purity ; we obey the traditions of Ibrahim, Ismael, and the rest of the holy line, who never touched any woman but their own lawful wives and concubines, resting contented with this indulgence of the Omnipotent ; we put in practice the law brought down from heaven, and the precepts of the prophet, which forbid

all adultery, fornication, and incest; we preserve in our veins the pure and unpolluted blood of our fathers, and transmit the same to our children, and the posterity to come, that the promises made to Ibrahim, the glorious patriarch of the East, may not be disannulled by the sins of his offspring, but may be verified till the day when the moon shall be cancelled in the heavens, and all the stars be blotted out.

Oh sage Hamet! we are of a sacred lineage, and illustrious pedigree; our progenitors were the favourites of Heaven, and lords of the earth, by the special benediction of God; the light of the Eternal shines upon the Ottoman house, and is reflected from thence on all the empire. I pray Heaven that we may not forfeit these privileges by our own folly, and cause an ill report to be whispered of us among the angels, saints, and prophets, and throughout the precincts of paradise.

I consign thee to the custody of God, and thy guardian genius, wishing thee all manner of enjoyments that may consist with purity and innocence.

Paris, 7th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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## XII.--To the CAPTAIN BASSA.

By ships newly arrived from America, advice is brought to this court of a signal defeat given to a squadron of Dutch ships in those parts, and of the taking the isle Tobago by the French. This exploit was performed under the conduct of the Count d'Estrées, an admiral of rising fame here in the West.

But in my opinion the French magnify this enterprize beyond its true value, for they lost as many ships and men as the Hollanders; and all the gain they can boast

of is a place which will cost them more to defend than it is really worth.

I wonder this potent monarch does not rather set out a fleet of ships well manned, and provided of all necessities, to make some discoveries in that vast track of land called by geographers the Southern Unknown World ; it runs along from east to west, between the tropic of Capricorn, and the antarctic circle, taking up the whole southern temperate zone, or at least the greatest part of it. There have been many fabulous relations of that distant part of the globe ; some of the ancients mentioned it, and modern writers have uttered various conjectures about it ; one will have it to be the original paradise of Adam and Eve ; another supposes it to be the place whither the ten tribes of Israel retired, that were carried away captives by Salmanassar King of Assyria ; which has occasioned so many disputes and controversies between different historians.

Be it how it will, the delightful situation of that quarter has given perhaps encouragement for such kind of thoughts, which I should think were also invitation-sufficient to draw thither the arms of some magnanimous prince, besides the pure novelty of the design, and the glory of making a descent and conquest, where no mortals of our known world had ever set foot before. Surely they are not afraid that it is enchanted ground, or that they shall encounter an army of devils at their first landing ; that they shall be trepanned into hidden snares of magic, or be surprised by some infernal ambush. What fatal timorousness, what panic suspicion is it, that renders potentates of the earth thus ingloriously prudent, and wretchedly cautious, to spare their men, their ships and money, when so noble an undertaking seems to challenge their courage, and awaken their utmost resolution to

combat a few difficulties, which being once vanquished, eternal honour and renown follow ?

What discouragements, lets, and obstacles, did not the brave Columbus meet with, when he sought the assistance of several princes and states to set him out to sea, that he might discover the then unknown western world ? How coldly was this project entertained at Genoa, his own native country, and at last, after long waiting, utterly rejected ? No better reception found he in the court of England, though a nation claiming the first rank among the seafaring people. What fatigues did he not undergo, in travelling up and down, by sea and land, from one kingdom and country to another ? Neither rested he till he had accomplished his desire, and procured vessels, men, and money, from the King of Spain, to carry on his enterprise.

Yet he had no other ground to believe there was any unknown continent beyond the Atlantic Sea, save his own conjecture, started from the observations he had made on the course of the sun, and the inequality of the known part of the earth compared with the vast body of waters which must be supposed necessary to make up an entire globe, if there were not some unknown land extant to supply their room, and prevent a vacuum in nature ; for he considered, that though this unequal balancing of the globe might pass muster in the school of natural philosophy, yet it could not answer the strict scrutiny of the mathematics, but that there must be an even counterpoise of earth and water to keep this ball fast in its vortex, and regular in its circulation ; so that this great man built all his well-pitched and happy design upon a bare geometrical speculation, whereas there is evident matter of fact, the testimony of many authentic eye-witnesses to prove that there is such a land as what I have been speaking

of; and all, that ever pass the Magellanic Straits must have seen it if they were not blind.

I counsel thee, therefore, mighty bassa, to represent these things effectually to the Grand Signior; it will be no disgrace if he hearken not to thy proposals; show him the easiness of the undertaking, if a small fleet be fitted up, and sent by way of the Red Sea, to make discoveries toward the south; let them be well manned and victualled, provided also with all sorts of arms and ammunition, in order to a descent, with materials and instruments to raise a fortress, if there be occasion. It is a thousand to one if the inhabitants of those unknown regions have ever found out the use of guns, which will be a prodigious advantage on our side; the very thunder of the muskman artillery will terrify them into obedience; they will either surrender as to gods, or fly as from devils, leaving all the maritime coasts to the invaders possession, where colonies of true believers may be soon planted and established, to the glory of God and his prophet, and the eternal exaltation of the Ottoman empire.

Great commander of the marine, I desire thee to pardon the liberty I take in this discourse, and to esteem what I have said only as the humble suggestions of an honest slave, who is zealous for his master's honour, the glory of the Ottoman house, and the general good of mankind.

Paris, 14th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1677.

### XIII.—To DŒNET OGLOU.

I AM convinced by long and manifold experience, that God and the world, and every thing, appear to man in what figure he pleases; we may make our own optics, though the generality of men take up with those which

are prepared for them by their fathers and tutors ; we use the prejudices and prepossessions of education, as the Spaniards wear their spectacles even at dinner-time for fashion sake, young and old, that they may appear grave and regular ; we adhere to the opinions we received in our infancy, with a partial stiffness and pride, that we may not seem to call in question the wisdom of our ancestors, nor appear wavering or inconstant ourselves. So the Christian gallants swallow down whole dozens of venomous oysters without saying grace, only because it is the mode, though they will not venture on a crust of wholesome bread without conjuring a blessing on it, by making the sign of the cross, and squinting two or three magical glances at heaven, seconded by hocus pocus whispers to complete the charm.

But let thou and I be more rational in our principles and practice. There is no God that will be bantered with vain mummary, or, by music, be melodiously wheedled out of his eternal reason ; no incense can be of proof to nose the sense of the Omniscient, nor the most elegant words delude him, who is perfect in knowledge ; he takes no delight in the pompous addresses of the great, nor is he to be moved by the multitude of solemn ceremonies ; all that he requires of man is a heart conform to the divine will, and actions void of offence.

But the lawgivers and governors of nations observing that there was a certain religious fear and reverence of some divine power as it were planted in the natures of all men, and considering that this might be improved, with good management, to the advantage and interest of the commonwealth, they invented set forms of discipline, and exterior offices of worship, which they termed holy rites and mysteries ; these they fortified with severe laws and sanctions, inflicting grievous penalties on the contemners



of the public service performed to the gods ; so Hermes Trismegistus first taught the Egyptians ; Melissus, the foster-father of Jupiter, instructed the inhabitants of Crete ; Faunus and Janus the Latins ; Numa Pompilius the Romans ; Orpheus the Grecians ; or, as some say, Cadmus the son of Agenor, first instructed that nation in the solemnities which were counted divine, and which he himself learned in Phœnicia ; he instituted the consecration of images and statues, the burning of incense, the building of temples and altars, with the hymns, sacrifices, and other magnificent rites by which they honoured the powers above.

Now that all this religious pagantry was established only for the ends of policy and state, is evident from hence, that the chief magistrates took the liberty of making what gods they pleased, and of increasing or diminishing their number at discretion ; so that in process of time there were reckoned no less than thirty thousand gods in the Roman catalogue, though at first their kalender could show but five-and-twenty divinities ; but when once they had found out a way to distinguish these divinities into several classes or ranks, terming some gods of the greater nations, others of the lesser, having also their tutelar genii, their demi-gods, their rural and household gods, &c. there was no limiting the crafty devices of the priests and rulers in imposing, or the superstition of the credulous people in believing and adoring an infinite rabble of new, young, and unheard-of divinities.

They took also the same freedom to change and alter the established rites and ceremonies, sometimes abolishing the old and primitive institutions, and superinducing new ones in their stead, or at least adding to the heap of insignificant ceremonies in every age some mysterious novelty which might please the people, and fasten them in

a devouter obedience and veneration of their pious guides and leaders.

Hence sprung the dedication of temples, fanes, chapels, oratories, and certain days in the year, to the service of particular gods; hence arose the invention and use of so many sorts of vessels of silver and gold, and other materials in their sacrifices; of lights, flowers, and perfumes; of music, pictures, and other decorations; besides the rich and majestic vestments of the priests, their grave and composed carriage, looks, and gestures; all designed purely to catch the rude and unpolished multitude in the snares of priestcraft, to strike their unwary minds with an awe and profound attach for religion, that so being once made thus flexible, they might warp them to what bent they pleased, and for ever lead them in a blind implicit admiration of they know not what.

It is certain that religion has this effect on the vulgar, to make them more obedient to their governors, just to one another, and zealous for the public welfare; I mean the religion allowed by the state; for where the subjects dare to make innovations and schisms, to set up new sects and parties, the greater zeal each faction has for their own way of worship, the more cruel and tragical disorders are generally committed; so fatal a thing it is to be opinionative in religion, to invade the priest's prerogative, and to disturb the quiet stream of traditions running in the channel of public faith from one generation to another.

My dear Dgnet, let thou and I shun the devout superstition of bigots, and the wanton profaneness of libertines and athiests, adoring one God with sincere faith, and a reason void of error; let us also keep our lives free from all injustice and vice, which will be of more com-

fort to us than if we had sacrificed every day a thousand bulls.

Paris, 25th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1677.

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XIV.—TO KERKER HASSAN, *Bessa*.

THE subject of most men's discourse at present in this city is the taking of Fribourg by the French: This is a city of Germany, whereof I made frequent mention in my letters when I first came to Paris; it is situated on a certain height near a small river, and is encompassed with two walls, strengthened also by a citadel, four bastions, and other fortifications; the emperor has likewise a strong garrison in it.

On the 10th of this moon, the Marechal de Crequi besieged it, and pressed it with such vigorous assaults and continual batteries, that the governor found himself obliged to surrender it on the 17th, when the marechal took possession of it in the name of the French king.

The imperialists cannot boast of equal success when they besiege towns or fortresses in the hands of the French; for not long before this the Prince of Orange, general of the confederate armies in Flanders, undertook the siege of Charleroy, a place of strength in those parts; but the want of provisions, together with the stout resistance of the inhabitants, and the Duke of Luxemburgh's approach with the French army, forced him to decamp and retire.

The Duke of Luxemburgh is a valiant and sage general, in high esteem with the French; but his enemies say he is a magician, and deals with the devil, because of the good success which generally crowns his enterprises; so impossible it is for a man of extraordinary virtues and he-

royal endowments to escape without envy and scandalous aspersions. It is as natural for the vulgar to inveigh against generous souls, as it is for dogs to bark at the moon; yet that planet appears impassable, and not being moved at the snarls of invidious animals, keeps on her heavenly course in majesty and silence: So do souls, that are truly noble, condemn the censures of the inferior part of men, and never stop till they arrive at the meridian and zenith of perfection.

Most serene and illustrious *Arnauld*, thou art a lively example of this, and I dare say no more lest I offend thy modesty. May perpetual benediction and glory crown thy years that are yet to come.

Paris, 29th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1677.

### BOOK III.

LETTER I.—*To the Wisest of the Wise, the Most Venerable MUFTI.*

**I** obey thy commands without the least demur; and now proceed to write of the Macedonian empire. I remember a dispatch of mine to thy venerable predecessor, of sacred memory, wherein I touched upon some passages of the life of that heroic and magnanimous prophet Alexander the Great; but now I will inform thee more at large concerning his birth, education, and renowned performances.

Alexander, as the Greeks and Latins call him, with all the nations of the West, or Scander, Ascander, and Zulkarneek, according to the style of the Arabians, Persians, Indians, Tartars, and other people of the East, was

born in the 106th olympiad, 398 years after the building of Rome, and in the year of the world 3628, on the 6th day of the moon Loo, or Heccatombæon, according to the stile of the Grecians; the same night was the temple of Diana at Ephesus set on fire; and on the same day two eagles came and perched on the top of his father's house, where they sat all the day, which was taken as an omen of the double empire he was to have over Europe and Asia. •

Philip King of Macedon, and husband to Olympias, was the reputed father of Alexander, as she was his known mother; but some historians say that a certain magician called Nectanebus, by his enchantments, disguising himself in the form of Jupiter Ammon, lay with Olympias, and begot Alexander; others affirm that Olympias herself confessed to Philip that Alexander was not his son, but that she had conceived him of a prodigious great serpent; whence it came to pass that Philip himself, a little before his death, openly declared that Alexander was not his son; and for the same reason he divorced Olympias as an adulteress by her own confession. •

These reports were so common at that time, that Alexander afterwards hearing the story of his supposed serpentine genealogy, and that other of Nectanebus in the masquerade of a god, when he marched through Egypt took advantage of the latter to impose upon the credulity and superstition of his soldiers; for being to pass by the temple of Jupiter Ammon, he made a halt to visit the oracle; but he had privately sent before some of his trusty friends to acquaint the priests with his design, and to tell them what manner of words and address they should use to him as he entered the temple, in the hearing of his followers. •

Having thus prepared those holy cheats, he with much

ceremony and seeming devotion made his approaches to the temple : As soon as he set his foot within the portico, the seniors of the priests met him in their pontifical robes, with censers in their hands, and thus saluted him, " All hail, son of Jupiter Ammon." Alexander being pleased at this, asked them further, " If all his father's murderers were punished, or if any yet survived ?" To which it was answered, " O son of the immortal gods ! thy father cannot be murdered, or die ; as for King Philip, his blood is fully revenged on them that had a hand in shedding it." Then he added another question concerning his future success ; to which the oracle replied, " The victory shall be thine in all battles ; thou shalt become lord of all the East." The same mouth also gave in charge to the retinue of Alexander, " That they should adore him not as a king, but as a god." Returning from thence, he built Alexandria, calling it after his own name.

I have not observed a due method in relating this story so soon, whilst I was but representing the new-born hero in his cradle ; but I did it to convince thee, that the various opinions concerning Alexander's father are not the fictions of wanton writers, but such as employed the care and diligence of Alexander himself to improve them to his own interest and his mother's honour ; for it was accounted a glorious thing to be impregnate by a god.

To return therefore to the infant prophet, he grew apace, and discovered early signs of a prodigious wit and courage ; at the age of fifteen years, he was committed to the care and tutelage of Aristotle, under whom he studied the sciences five years ; and then his father Philip being murdered, he succeeded in the throne. The same year also, Darius Codomannus obtained the empire of Persia ; against whom Alexander, with the common con-

sent of almost all Greece, prepared to go with a well disciplined army, that he might carry on the war which his father had begun ; only the Lacedemonians, Thebans, and Athenians thwarted his design, being corrupted by Demosthenes the orator, who for that purpose had received vast sums of gold from Darius ; but Alexander soon reduced these factious states and kingdoms to their duty, utterly destroying the city of Thebes, with the slaughter of 90,000 of the citizens, besides 30,000 captives. This was executed on the 15th of the moon Boedromion, in the 2d year of the 111th olympiad ; he only spared the host of Philip his father, when he was left as a pledge in that city, whose house was left untouched, as also that of Pindar's posterity.

From thence passing the Hellespont, he marched into Asia, in the year of the world 3650, and in the third year of his reign. He had in his army 30,000 foot and 4500 horse. As soon as he set foot on the ground of Asia, he made the royal corban and vows for victory ; then he darted a javelin into the earth, in token of defiance ; after which, when he came to Troy, he performed certain holy rites and mysteries at the tombs of defunct heroes, who fell in the Trojan war. When these ceremonies were accomplished he marched directly against the Persians, who were in number 600,000 fighting men. I will not tire thee with all the particularities that happened in their march ; suffice it to say, that Alexander with his handful of Macedonians, after many victories obtained of the Persians, at length quite routed the army of Darius, and took possession of that once formidable empire.

But there are some remarkable passages in this expedition which deserve to be remembered ; as his wonderful continence and humanity toward the mother, wife,

and daughter of Darius, whom he entertained in his camp after they fell into his hands, rather as the kindred of some beloved friend, than of a professed enemy. The story also of his loosing the Gordian knot is not unworthy thy knowledge.

It seems in former times one Gordius, as he ploughed the fields, was surrounded with a flight of birds of all kinds. Being troubled at this, he left his work and hastened to the next city, there to inquire of the augurs what the meaning of this should be: As he entered the gate of the city, he met a virgin of incomparable beauty, of whom he asked, "Where he might find the most skilful sage, with whom he might consult about a matter of some importance?" Then he told the inquisitive damsel what had happened to him in the field; as soon as she heard this, being well versed in these mysterious and prophetic sciences, she told him, "That he should be made a king;" and to confirm him in the belief of what she said, she promised to become his wife, that so she might be partner of his future happiness. In a word, they were married, and soon after there arose a strife among the Phrygians, which was like to prove of dangerous consequence; therefore the people consulted the oracle, "What was to be done in this case, to prevent the public desolation?" It was answered, "That the only remedy for these discords was to choose them a king." And when they asked, "What person they should choose to this dignity?" It was answered again, "That they should elect that man for their king, whom they first met with a waggon, as they went thence to the temple of Jupiter." Gordius proved the man, and they obeyed the oracle, saluting him as their sovereign. Gordius, as a memorial of this event, set up his wain in the temple of Jupiter, consecrating it to the royal majesty.



After him his son Midas reigned, who filled Phrygia with religious observations; whence arose the common oracle, "That whosoever should loose the knot of the thongs in the waggon of Gordius, should obtain the empire of all Asia."

Alexander hearing this, and being spurred on by ambition, besieges Gordia, and having taken the city, makes haste to the temple of Jupiter, where he understood the waggon was laid up; as soon as he saw it, he tried to find out the ends of the thongs, that so he might loose the knot; but perceiving that it was impossible to come at them without using violence, he interpreted the oracle in the sense of a soldier, and cut the uttermost foldings of the knot with his sword; upon which all the ends of the thongs appeared, and so he easily performed the fatal task.

Yet this heroic prophet, as he had great virtues, so had he no less vices; he was very cruel to his nearest relations and friends, killing Caranus, his brother by a stepmother, Clytus, his old dear friend, Parmenio, Philotas, Amyntas, Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias, and many other Macedonian princes, some of which were of his own blood; add to this, his barbarous usage of Callisthenes the philosopher, who was brought up with him under Aristotle. This poor unfortunate man, refusing to flatter the king's pride in calling him a god, so disgusted Alexander, that feigning himself very angry, he charged him with being accessory to the plots and conspiracies that were formed against him; then he caused all his limbs to be mangled and chopped after an inhuman fashion; he commanded also his ears, nose, and lips to be cut off, which not only gave the poor wretch infinite torment, but also rendered him a most deformed and miserable spectacle to others; and, to complete his revenge,

he caused him in this doleful plight to be shut up in a cage with a dog, and so to be carried about to the terror of others.

Then Lyfimachus, one of Alexander's generals, and a disciple of Calisthenes, taking pity on so great a sage, who suffered all this barbarous usage, not for any real crime that he had committed, but only for using that freedom in his words and actions which becomes a philosopher, gave him poison, to rid him at once of so many horrid calamities.

But Alexander took this so heinously, that he commanded Lyfimachus to be thrown to a very fierce lion; as soon as the furious beast saw him, he roared and pawed the ground for joy, and ran upon him with an impetuous force; but Lyfimachus not losing his courage, wrapped his hand in his mantle, and thrust it down the lion's throat, where laying fast hold of his tongue, he pulled it out by the roots, and left the lion for dead.

When this was told the king, he, admiring the invincible virtue of the man, not only forgave him this offence, but had him in higher esteem all his life afterwards.

We must not omit that memorable action of Alexander, when stomaching the surrender of Sidon to his victorious arms, in that it was delivered up by the people against the will of Strato their king, the conqueror pronouncing Strato unworthy of the crown, bid Hephestion place him on the throne whom the Sidonians should approve as Strato's successor. Hephestion, willing to prefer to that dignity a noble young Sidonian, who was his favourite, offered him the crown; but the generous youth refused the honour, alleging that it was against the laws of his country for any man to reign who was not of the royal blood. Hephestion admiring the greatness of his

soul, said, "God increase your virtues and graces, illustrious friend, who art the first that ever understood how much more magnanimous it is to despise than to accept a crown. Be it therefore in your power to bestow the kingdom on any man of the royal blood whom you think fit for so great a charge." Then he pitched upon one Abdolonymus, a poor gardener in the suburbs of Sidon, who was of the race of the Sidonian kings, but through extreme poverty was grown obscure, and forced to take up that employment to get his bread. Hephestion approved the choice; and this noble youth, with some of his friends, immediately went with the royal robes and ensigns of majesty to look out Abdolonymus, whom they found weeding his garden in a very dirty squalid condition. Saluting him therefore king, in the name of Alexander the Great, they washed and anointed him with precious oils of the East, and having put on the robes of sovereign majesty, they conducted him to the conqueror, who, among other discourses, asked him, "How he was able so patiently to endure that extreme poverty which had hitherto been his lot?" To which he replied, "I wish I may endure the burden of a crown with the same ease. These hands served the necessities of life, and my wants were answerable to my possessions, even none at all." Alexander perceiving by this answer the greatness of his spirit, gave him all the royal furniture of Strato, with much of the Persian booty, and added all the countries round about Sidon to his government.

Much about the same time, Alexander going to Jerusalem, was met by Jaddus the high priest in his pontifical habit, who falling at the conqueror's feet, to implore favour and mercy for his city and people, Alexander raised him up, and embracing him in his arms, bid him "fear

nothing, for that God had appeared to him in Macedonia, in the same figure and form as the high priest made, exhorting him to carry on the Persian war, and promising him certain victory." After this, the high priest conducted him into the city and temple, where he sacrificed and made corban; he also gave the Jews many ample privileges.

There is one thing more in the life of Alexander, which, because it has something very singular in it, I will insert in this dispatch.

After the conquest of Persia, as Alexander was marching forward, that he might extend his empire through all the East, Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons, hearing of his fame, took a journey of five-and-twenty days, through many populous nations, attended only by three hundred women, and came to his camp, courting the honour of his bed; for she had conceived an insatiable desire of having a child by him, whom all the East proclaimed the greatest hero in the world. Alexander granted her request; and when she had enjoyed his company thirteen days, she departed well satisfied to her own country, promising, that if she brought forth a male, she would send him to his father, according to the manner of the Amazons, but if a female, she would keep it herself.

From hence Alexander marched against Bessus, who had murdered Darius, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Persia by the name of Artaxerxes; having overcome him and punished his treasons, he proceeded and subdued all the regions running along the foot of Mount Caucasus; in fine, he extended his conquests to the utmost borders of India, even to the Oriental Sea, where he took shipping, and returned to Babylon, partly by sea, and partly by land. An astrologer of great re

putation met him by the way, and dissuaded him by all the arguments he could use from entering the city, assuring him that place would be fatal to his person; but though Alexander made some demur at first, and seemed to credit the words of the sages, yet being overruled by the counsel of Anaxarchus the philosopher, he entered Babylon, where he died, some say of poison, others affirm that he surfeited himself with too much wine. This was in the thirty-third year of his life, and the twelfth of his reign.

There was a deep and melancholy silence throughout Babylon, when once it was known that the conqueror of the world was dead; every one was possessed with various thoughts and cares, according to their different actions and interests; the Macedonians inwardly rejoiced, as if they were now rid of some great and formidable enemy, cursing his severity and restless temper, which had exposed them to so many toils and perils of war; besides, the princes flattered themselves with a prospect of enjoying every one his share in so vast an empire; and the private soldiers had their eyes intently fixed on the immense treasures of gold which Alexander left behind him, and which they hoped to share among them; for there were at that time fifty thousand talents in bank, and three hundred thousand coming in yearly by tribute and custom.

On the other side, the conquered nations would not at first give credit to the report of those who carried the news of Alexander's fate; for they thought he must needs be immortal, whom they had always found invincible; but when couriers upon couriers had removed their incredulity, bringing fresh expresses from Babylon, they mourned for him, not with bare outward ceremonies, as for an enemy that had subdued them, but with real for-

row, as for a father that had protected and cherished them.

More especially the grief of Darius's mother was remarkable; who, though she had lost eighty of her brethren, with their father, all cruelly murdered by Ochus; though she had lost Darius, the only surviving of seven sons, and was herself cast down from the height of majesty to the abject state of a captive, yet she bore all with an even mind, till Alexander's death, whose indulgence alone, whilst living, had supported her under so many grievous calamities; but as soon as he had forsaken the earth, she grew weary of tarrying any longer on it too; not that she esteemed an enemy above her father, brethren, and her son, but because she had experienced in him, whom she dreaded as an enemy, the goodness and piety, the modesty and regard of all these relations.

This great monarch being dead, and not having appointed a successor, there arose almost as many kings as there were governors of provinces, and leaders in the army; hence sprung innumerable confusions, wars, and disorders, in the empire; there were tumults and insurrections in Greece, especially at Athens, where the citizens, under the conduct of Leosthenes their captain, invited the rest of the Grecians to assert their liberty, by taking arms; nor were there less stir in Asia and Egypt; every where men's minds were unsettled, and desirous of novelty. Ptolemy had Egypt for his share of the conquered empire; there he established himself and his posterity by the name of kings; Seleucus took possession of Babylon and Syria, with the same title; Cassander reigned over Macedon and Greece; Antigonus governed Asia, and Lysimachus Thracæ; but Antigonus soon lost his empire, being overcome and killed in a battle by Ptolemy and his confederates; so did the rest either in their

own persons, or in their posterity, yield to the prevailing fortune of their enemies, till at length all these shattered remains of the Macedonian empire became provinces of the Roman ; of which I will say something in my next.

In the mean while, I triumph to think that the Ottoman empire is now become more formidable, large, and victorious, than all that went before it. May God increase the felicities and honours of true believers, till the day of the final metamorphosis.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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II.—*To MUSU ABU'L, YAHYAN, Professor of Philosophy at Fez.*

I RECEIVED thy venerable dispatch with great satisfaction, and am glad to find thou art so far from being tired with what I have already said concerning Constantinople, that thou challengest me with a promise I formerly made thee, of giving thee a farther account of what I have observed there most remarkable.

In describing this imperial city, I have imitated the painters, who, when they would draw a beauty to the life, do not go arithmetically to work, or observe any order in their rough draughts ; but following the conduct of a wild and strong fancy, they dash their pencil here and there, as that volatile faculty inspires them, regarding only the symmetry of the picture, without preferring one part to another, or being curious in delineating every little singularity : So I, in portraying this queen of cities, this superlative beauty of the whole earth, draw my strokes at random, not designing to present thee with an anatomy-lecture over her, or to unveil all her interior secrets, but only to give thee a transient

view of those parts which appear most eminent, and attract the eyes of all travellers ; and this I do not perform all at once, (it were too great a task) but even like them, by fits and starts, as I find my opportunities.

I have hitherto presented thee with a prospect of very magnificent and curious objects, as temples, mosques, aqueducts, columns, Obelisks, bazars, &c. ; now prepare thine eyes for an entertainment of another nature : I will show thee things, though perhaps not so illustrious to outward appearance, or strutting with royal grandeur, yet sufficiently great and splendid, to perpetuate the memory of the founders, and to convey their fame to all generations ; things also of public use and service, designs of charity, policy, and generous wisdom, undertakings of a noble and heroic character, as thou wilt perceive by the following account.

No traveller can survey the streets of Constantinople, and not have his eyes arrested here and there by most capacious and ample caravanseras, where all distressed foreigners, and such as are destitute of a more convenient lodging, may in any of these find a shelter and sanctuary from the injuries of open air, from night robbers, and other inconveniencies ; these caravanseras are in number three hundred and three, built at the expences of Ottoman princes and bassas.

There are also in this city ninety hospitals, where the poor are nourished, and the sick attended with extraordinary piety and care.

Besides all these, there are five colleges where the sciences are publicly professed and taught, and where a certain number of young men are educated and maintained at the Grand Signior's cost, being constant stipendaries to the sultan. There are many such colleges scattered up and down Carmania, Natolia, and throughout



Greece, and the Lesser Asia ; so that the number of students, in these countries, is computed to be above nine thousand, not reckoning those in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, where flourish innumerable seminaries of divine and human wisdom.

But to return to Constantinople ; the next thing worthy of observation is the serayan, or house of equipages, where are made all sorts of trappings for horses, especially saddles of immense cost, and admirable workmanship ; this place is also environed with high walls, and shut in with strong gates ; there cannot be a more agreeable sight to such as take pleasure in horses and riding, than to see four thousand men here daily at work in their shops, each striving to excel the rest in the curiosity of his artifice : You shall see one busy in spangling a saddle with great oriental pearls, and unions intermixed, for some Arabian horse, belonging perhaps to the Visier Azem ; another fitting a curb, or bit of the purest gold to a bridle of most precious Russian leather ; some adorn their trappings with choice Phrygian work, others with diamonds, rubies, and the most costly jewels of the East ; in a word, there is so illustrious a variety of these accoutrements, that the eye is astonished at the sight of them, and I have heard many travellers acknowledge, that the like is not to be seen in any city of the world beside Constantinople. I know not what may be in your cities of Morocco and Fez, in regard the Moors are great cavaliers.

There are, moreover, two other palaces in the city, encompassed with peculiar walls ; in these the janizaries are posted, who are the Guards du Corps to the Grand Signior ; they are under the command of decurions without whose leave no janizary dare set a foot out of the palace.

Next is the arsenal of the city, built on the sea shore, containing an hundred and eighty arches, under which are very elegant porticos or piazzas where people walk; there are above forty thousand men daily at work in this arsenal, and eighty great galleys lie there always in readiness for any sudden expedition.

Besides, there is another in the suburbs, wherein there always lie an hundred and fifty great galleons on the stocks, and sixty fitted up with all necessaries constantly lie in the water.

The granaries, or store-houses for corn, present themselves next; they are built in a corner of the city toward Pera, where the walls are far stronger than in any other part, and the gates are of iron. Here is always laid up an immense quantity of wheat and barley, as also of other grain, as if it were to serve for many years, yet it is changed for new corn every three years; they say, that in the reign of Amurat III. there was an incredible abundance of millet found there, whose virtue was much admired, in that it had lain there eighty years sound, and free from any corruption.

I have purposely omitted to speak of the two royal seraglios, since the least of them will require a large letter by itself, to be described exactly; only this I will say in short, that the least is a French league in circuit, or three Italian miles, and the biggest, wherein the Grand Signior dwells, is a league and two-thirds, or five Italian miles; the former is called Eschy Saray, or the old palace, the latter is named Bryuch Saray, or the great seraglio. If thou desirest a farther and more particular description of these royal courts, I will send it thee in future dispatches, for it will be too large for page.

In the mean time I must not forget the mosque of

Jab, where our Sultans receive the sword when they first come to the crown ; this is a building of great antiquity, seated in the farthest angle of the city near the haven ; over against it are the sultan's stables, having very fair gardens adjoined to them ; not far from thence is the Topana, or gun-yard, where there lies a vast number of brass pieces of ordnance without carriages, of which some are turned directly against the haven.

As you pass from this place, it is impossible to avoid the sight of a pillar, which shoots up from the top of a rock, at some distance from the city ; this column is all of white marble, and was erected by Cn. Pompey, as a monument of his victory over Mithridates, King of Pontus ; on this side of the city there is nothing hardly to be seen for eight miles together, but houses built for pleasure and delight, with most beautiful groves and gardens.

Over against the city stands Pera, an arm of the sea coming between them ; this suburb or borough is inhabited chiefly by Grecians and Western Frauks.

Round about this suburb are many pretty country houses, farms, and granges, most deliciously seated in the midst of high tufts of trees, with green fields, and crystal streams adjoining to them, where the ambassadors of foreign princes make their abode sometimes.

I will not carry thee from hence to Scutari, though a great and stately village, within the liberty also of the imperial city ; I will not detain thee with the singularities of the Thracian Chersonesus, or drill thee along to Calipolis, though this were the first town in Europe which Amurat took in the year 1363 ; my design is altogether at Constantinople ; therefore, having surveyed Pera, which is also called Galata, let us cross the water, and return again to the mother city, that we may know

what manner of government there is in it, and how the laws are executed.

The chief magistrate is called Stambol Cadifi, or judge of Constantinople; before him are pleaded all causes both criminal and civil; he has four deputies under him, who separately govern the four chief precincts of the city; there is likewise an officer called Sabassi, whose business is to take cognisance of every one's crime that is seized in the streets or houses, and to refer it to the supreme visier; he has also four deputies under him; and all men are bound to assist him in case of difficulty.

The common prison of Constantinople is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower; the upper is only for civil offences, and has an airy green court in the middle of it, with a fountain continually spouting up water, which something diminishes the squalidness of the place; the lower is for capital crimes, and is a very sink of horror and loathsomeness.

Flower of philosophers, I pray God, who gave us our senses, always grant them agreeable objects, and defend us from all noisome scents, especially from the pestilential fumes of hell, which, they say, at certain times transpire through the chinks and crannies of the earth, infecting this upper world with deplorable contagions. May the odours of paradise refresh us for ever, O sensible Musu!

Pari 19th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 167

### III.—To KERKEK HASSAN, *Bassa*.

EVERY year the French gain ground of their enemies; they make prosperous campaigns, and always come off conquerors.

In the beginning of the 3d moon, the king caused

Ghent to be besieged by the Marechal d'Humiers: This city is the capital of all Flanders, and is divided into several quarters or isles; so is the country round about it, by certain rivers and canals, which render it of extreme difficult access, and spoil all communication; it is one of the greatest cities in Europe, and is defended by a counterscarp, a large ditch, good ramparts, and many bastions. The inhabitants boast that it was founded by Julius Cæsar. They have been able to raise an army of fifty thousand men among themselves, whenever they have been inclined to revolt from their sovereign; yet they could not hold out above ten days against the present arms of France, but seeing the vigour with which they were attacked on all sides, and despairing of any succours, they surrendered on articles.

Next to this, the city of Ypres was surrendered to them on the 25th of the same moon, after a siege of eight days; this is another considerable city in Flanders.

Nor have the French arms been unsuccessful in Catalonia, under the command of the Duke de Noailles; this general having taken Puicerda, the capital city of that province, and a place of great strength, being seated on the top of the Pyrenean mountains, and defended by a castle built on a rock. The Prince of Conde won it in the year 1664, but it was afterwards restored to the Spaniards again by the treaty of the Pyrenees, who fortified it anew with all the modern forms. This city has under its command above eighty villages, and draws contributions from all the province of Cerdagne; it secures the possession of Roussillon, covers the frontiers of Languedoc, and is esteemed second only to Barcelona of all the cities in these parts.

From Germany, and the provinces bordering on the

Rhine, fame transports hither successive relations of battles fought between the French and the Imperialists, wherein the former always get the victory. The Mareschal de Crequi engaged with them first near Grotzingen, where the Prince of Baden, and forty officers of note, were wounded on the enemies side; the Count of Liqueville, a commander under the Duke of Lorraine, with many others, were taken prisoners. The French took from them a great number of standards, killed abundance of their men, and, in fine, remained masters of the field.

No less advantage had they in the 7th moon, on the plains of the Rheinfeldt, near the river Rhine, where they killed above eight hundred Imperialists upon the spot; and the bridge of Rheinfeldt was so crammed with dead bodies, that they served as a barrier to stop the French from pursuing their victory to the gates of the city.

The Mareschal de Crequi also defeated a body of six thousand horse and dragoons, commanded by the Duke of Lorraine near to Offembourg, which was followed by the taking of Ortamburg castle, and the fort of Kehl, which the mareschal razed to the ground; he took also the fort of Zolhausen, and encountering the Duke of Lorraine, near a place called Lauterbourg, he set upon him, and killed four hundred of his men, as they were passing a bridge of the Rhine, and took three hundred prisoners.

If they go on at this rate year after year, it will be difficult to set the limits of their continually growing empire; only we need not fear that they will ever be able to jostle the faithful Osmons out of the patrimony appointed them by destiny.

Serene minister, the crescent outshines the cross, the Alcoran supercedes the Bible, and all things yield to the invincible arms of true believers.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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IV.—*To DALIMALCHED, the Widow of Pesteli Hali, his Brother, Master of the Customs, and Superintendant of the Arsenal at Constantinople.*

THOU mayest be assured it is no compliment when I tell thee I condole thy loss; he that is dead was my brother, as well as thy husband, and the friendship which was between us united us more closely than did our blood; we never thought any thing too much to perform in the service of each other, provided it did not intrench upon our honour, but we greedily snatched every opportunity of demonstrating our mutual affections.

He is gone to infinite joys, to a place of refreshment, where he banquets on the reversion of his good works in this life; he revels at large, and without contradiction, or murmuring of women, in full bowls of the ambrosia of paradise; no peevish female interrupts his joy, or turns his smiles to frowns by her unworthy carriage; he lies stretched out at ease upon the crimson beds of Eden, with pages waiting on him, whose eyes are like the polished pearl; each bears a golden goblet, crusted with sapphires in his hand, full charged with wine, which mortal kings would give their kingdoms for; those heavenly youths perform their parts with admirable grace, and dutiful exactness; they wait the minute of their lord's desire; with humble resignation, the fair Cupids stand encompassing his bed, each being emulous of the rest, all striving,

with an agreeable generosity, who shall serve their master first, and with the greatest promptness.

When Pesteli pleases to divert himself with women, it is but to wish, and one more fair than ever Apelles drew presents herself, chaste as Diana, yet as kind as Venus; no coy demurs protract the enjoyment of his wish, nor is there the least sign of impudence to pall it; but in perfect love they meet each other, and unite their hearts, and so they pass their time in constant unrepented bliss.

He traverses the pleasant walks of Eden, and sits him down upon the banks of her immortal rivers, rivers that stream with wine, and milk, and honey; under the shade of happy trees, he lies upon the flowery green, in the caresses of some lovely daughter of paradise, whilst aromatic winds inspire him with diviner passions than Endymion felt in the embraces of Diana. O happy state of separate souls that part from earth in purity! their pleasures know no bounds or end.

For what I have said is only emblematical, describing in sensible short figures those raptures and transcendent joys which cannot otherwise be expressed. Whatever elevated fancy can conceive of bliss, is all by infinite odds surpassed in the enjoyments of the happy souls above. There is no number, weight, or measure of their eternal and superlative felicities; they pass from joy to joy, and sport in endless circles of beatitude. O region ever to be desired! O gardens of incomparable beauty! where the liberal Monarch of the universe regales the wearied souls of mortals with banquets of inestimable price, and unmatched delicacy, after their toilsome pilgrimage on earth.

If Pesteli could hear, I would congratulate his happiness, instead of condoling thy misfortune in losing such a husband; he has escaped the shipwrecks of this lower world, this sea of grief and tragedies; he is got safe into



the harbour of eternal rest, the port of peace, and landed on the strand of the Omnipotent's seraglio, where guards of angels waited on him to the throne of Alla, with ten thousand thousand flambeaux burning in the walks of Eden.

But tell me, Dalimalched, were not you something in the fault, that the generous Pesteli left us both so soon? Did you not fret and tease his high-born soul with words which might have well been spared to a man of so quick sense? Doubtless he needed not your fuming lectures, and more silent discipline of pouts. If he committed faults, (as who does not?) he soon was sensible without a reprimand; there was no occasion to keep him half a moon in paroxysms of melancholy and grief; this was too hard a penance for his spirit to bear: But you women have ways by yourselves, unintelligible to our sex; your windings and turnings are intricate as those of serpents; Dædalus himself, were he now alive, though once the glory of labyrinth-makers, yet would be puzzled to trace your sex, in all your secret, wild, unknown meanders; ye are all the very changeable things of the earth; nobody knows what to make of you.

Dalimalched, I tell thee a woman never commands a man, unless he be a fool, but by her obedience; that way she wins his heart, and makes a thorough conquest of his affections; she wheedles him out of his sovereignty, by cunning compliance and proper capitulations, or at least by this method she saves herself; she will not thwart him in the torrent of his passion, but meekly yields to the mighty stream, and will not suffer her tongue to move but in the eddy of his wrath.

In a word, a good woman consults her husband's pleasure in all things; and if thou hast done so, the world has nothing to say to thee; but if otherwise, I advise thee to

remain a widow, lest the next man that marries thee should revenge the injuries my brother received at thy hands; for this is one way of taming shrews.

Paris, 27th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1678.

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V.—To HAMET, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

I HOPE thou wilt pardon me, most illustrious minister, that I have thus long delayed to give thee a farther account of the states of Europe; but now I will proceed, and, according to thy command, begin where I left off.

Having already discoursed of Germany, I will descend into the Netherlands, which is as natural as for a man that has surveyed the upper town of Buda, or any other city seated like that, to fall into the lower; for so the Netherlands seem to be a kind of outlying borough, near the suburb to the German empire.

They are called the Netherlands, by reason of their low situation near the sea, which makes the country appear like a marsh or moor; they contain seventeen provinces, ten whereof are under the jurisdiction of the King of Spain; the other seven make up a distinct and independent republic among themselves.

The circumference of the seventeen provinces is a thousand Italian miles; and within that compass there are two hundred walled towns and cities, an hundred and fifty other places which enjoy the same privileges and power as the former; and there are six thousand villages.

In the time of Julius Cæsar, this tract of ground was called Belgic Gaul by the Romans; it was inhabited by a warlike people, impatient of servitude, and stout as-

seers of their native liberty, as the same Cæsar found by experience when he warred among them; nay, and since that time the mussulmans themselves have felt their valour; witness the famous expedition of Godfrey of Bullen to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Saracens; and that other of Baldwin the Fleming, who made himself master of Constantinople and the Grecian empire.

The ancient Romans use to say, That the Gauls fought for their liberty, the Germans for booty, and the Dutch for glory and honour; hence it came to pass that the Roman emperors in those days had always a select guard about their persons, chosen out of these provinces; also the Hollanders and Friezelanders were called the friends and associates of the Romans.

But though these provinces formerly had each a distinct sovereign, with a peculiar government and laws, yet afterwards they were all reduced under the dominion of the Dukes of Burgundy, from whom they devolved to the Archdukes of Austria, and last of all to the Kings of Spain, who claim a title to ten of them at this day; but the King of France has possession of a great part: As for the other seven, they are quite emancipated and free, it being an established maxim with them, That the longest sword gives the best title to a government; and, for ought I see, this principle is practised throughout the world.

The inhabitants of the Netherlands are generally tall and strong bodied people, comely, civil, open hearted, courteous, prompt, and laborious; more addicted to wine than to women, equally forgetful of benefits and injuries, great musicians, expert seamen, cunning merchants, accurate painters, and very ingenious in all arts; they are not jealous of their women, as most other na-

tions are, but suffer them to walk abroad openly, and converse with men in the streets : Neither will any of these females refuse an invitation to a bottle of wine ; as soon as you come into any house, the daughter of the family meets you with a bottle of wine, or other strong beverage, in her hand, and drinks it off to you, and if you do not very readily answer, and pledge her, it passes for a sign of rudeness and ill manners. .

These people are very rich, by reason of their merchandise and traffic with other nations, for they export the product of their soil, and their own manufactures, vending or exchanging them, at a prodigious advantage, in the remotest regions of the earth.

They have very strong forts and castles up and down the country, with cities which are in a manner inexpugnable. As for the religion of the Netherlanders, the ten provinces, which are subject to the King of Spain or France, are called Catholics ; the other seven represent the celebrated tower of Babel, where the languages were first confounded, as Moses relates ; for such is the hodge-podge and gallimaufry of religions tolerated in Amsterdam, Leyden, and other cities of Holland, and in general throughout all the Seven United States ; neither have they much more regularity and order in other matters. Wonder not, therefore, if my pen observes no method in treating of a country which is the very emblem, proverb, and centre of ataxy and confusion ; however, I will now begin to make more particular distinctions than in the former part of my letter.

Zealand has a bad air, especially in the summer time, when the sun exhales stinking and infectious vapours from the lakes and pools, of which there is a great number in that province ; yet it has an excellent soil, abounding with wheat and other corn, also with good pasturage.

for sheep and cattle. There is little more to be said of this province.

Holland has this observable in it, that frequently the earth trembles there under the burden of coaches, waggons, horses, &c. which is an argument that the ground is hollow underneath, and full of caverns. To confirm this opinion, they say, that a cow once falling into a gap or chasm in the earth, was found dead three days afterwards in the sea, being known by the owner to be the same. Hence a part of Holland, in the language of the country, is called Waterland, which at first hearing sounds like a contradiction; but they mean by it, a land situated in the waters; for so indeed the whole province appears to be divided into small islands by innumerable canals, lakes, and pools, that every where expose themselves to your eye. This province deserves most properly of all the rest the appellation of Netherland, it being sunk so very low, that in many places the sea rises higher than it, which compels the Hollanders to fortify their shores with high and strong banks, which with great cost they continually keep repaired.

They have but little corn or fruit of their own growth, being supplied with those things from Germany, Poland, and other countries; but there is an immense quantity of grass ~~to~~ nourish millions of sheep, oxen, and horses. And what I have said of these two provinces may be in some degree applied to all the rest, Friesland only excepted, which is more fertile of corn, yields abundance of pulse and salt, and is well clothed with woods.

As to the manners of these people, the Zealanders are of a ready wit, provident, and subtle, of stature generally very tall, as will appear by a woman of this province, whom William Count of Holland sent to the nuptials of Charles the Fair King of France; she was of so

vast an height and bulk, that the French looked like pigmies or dwarfs in comparison of her; and such was her strength, that she could lift from the ground a beam, and carry it on her shoulders, which eight labouring men could hardly stir.

It is observed of Guelders, that it was the first of these provinces which submitted to the rising fortune of the Roman empire, and again the first that shook off the yoke when that empire was in its wane.

In Utrecht there are abundance of nobles, who are more soft and polite in their conversation than the rest of the Hollanders; the women of quality there go veiled.

The public affairs of all these provinces are managed by those whom they call the States General of the United Provinces; these are a convention or assembly of the chief nobles, principal magistrates, and most eminent citizens in every province.

Courteous effendi, these are the chief things which I know of the United Provinces, unless thou wouldst have me write their complete history, which would be too tedious for letters. Accept of my labours, which though mean, yet are voluntary, cheerful, and done at a jerk.

Paris, 4th of the 12th Moon, of the year 1678.

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VI.—*To the Same.*

THOU wilt say I am all upon the extremes. In my last I dragged thee through the most dirty, nasty, abject valley of all the earth; I mean Holland, with the rest of the United Provinces; now I am going to lead thee out of those fenny bogs, and give thee a breathing up the fabulous hills and mountains of Helvetia or Switzerland. It is true this cannot be done without a considerable leap

over many provinces of Germany, part of Lorrain and Alsace ; but having spoken formerly of the empire, and from thence in my next, by a kind of natural descent, fallen into the Low Countries, the consideration of their form of government put me in mind of the other republics in Europe, among which, that of Swisserland lying next to the United States, I chose to make it the subject of this letter, designing to give thee an account of Venice, Genoa, Lucca, and the rest in order.

Know then, that Helvetia or Swisserland was once a province of Germany, but now it is a commonwealth subsisting by itself, and not subject to any foreign power ; it is divided into thirteen cantons or provinces ; I will not trouble thee with the names of each district, or with their several characters : The whole country in general looks like a great bunch of rocks and mountains, separated by small but very pleasant valleys ; and though the mountains seem rough, yet their tops and brows flourish no less with all sorts of trees and herbage, than the fairest plains. The inhabitants nourish abundance of sheep on them, besides goats, hinds, horses, with many other kinds of beasts ; for there is great plenty of animals in this country, both wild and tame. The air is piercing and serene ; the soil, though not of itself fertile, yet is made so by the industry of the inhabitants ; in some parts they have vineyards which produce a grape of wonderful delicacy, the wine of which is much esteemed in those parts. The lakes also and rivers abound with fish of all sorts ; neither is there any scarcity of fowls, or of any thing else which immediately serves the necessities of human life ; only things tending to luxury, and other kinds of wantonness, are not to be found in this happy region : It is a second Scythia or Tartary ; and indeed the inhabitants of Swisserland are thought to come out of those more northern regions.

They have ever been famous for their invincible constancy and valour in war; Julius Cæsar himself was afraid of them, and built a wall to hinder them from going into France or Gaul, when he remembered that L. Cassius, a Roman consul, was vanquished by them, and his whole army routed. Some authors affirm, that in the times of old, the inhabitants of the north of Europe were so prodigiously multiplied, that some of them were forced to seek new seats; wherefore, rushing through Germany, and passing the Rhine, they were met by the Gauls, whom they overcame and defeated; upon which news the neighbouring nations being terrified, sent ambassadors to them desiring peace: The conquerors replied, they came not to wage war, or disturb the peace of mankind; that they only sought a place to live in quietly, where they might manure the ground, without hurting any body. Then Helvetia was granted to them, where their posterity live to this day.

As to the manners of the modern Swiss, they answer exactly the ancient character, being wholly addicted to war, hardy to bear all inconveniencies of hunger, thirst, cold, and other afflictions of nature, providence, destiny, or chance; a little money serves their turn to defray the expences of eating, their diet being very plain and ordinary, consisting chiefly of milk and cheese. ~~If they~~ are chargeable in any thing, it is in wine and other strong liquors; for you shall find but mean and squalid houses, and contemptible furniture, and they wear garments answerable to the rest; but they are given to drinking above measure; they will consume whole days and nights successively, without intermission, in their drunken debauches; nor can any friendship be contracted among them, but over their cups; for he who drinks most, and is most frolicsome and debonaire, is taken for a man of



integrity ; whereas he that seems timorous of his health, or makes any frivolous excuses, is looked upon as a sneaking fellow, not worthy of such good company ; nay, sometimes their madness grows to that height, as to set a dagger to his throat who refuses to pledge in his turn.

And yet after all this reproach, it must be confessed that these people are very prudent and circumspect, both in their private and public affairs ; for notwithstanding the pleasure they take in liberal convocations, yet every man, when the frolic is over, is intent on his business, using double industry and diligence to make good the expenses of his last vanity ; they work to drink, and drink that they may better work again ; so in the public, it is evident that they are not defective in policy, since they have been able for so many centuries of years to maintain their union and confederated liberties against so many princes who have endeavoured to bring them under a foreign yoke ; and not only so, but such is the singularity of their conduct, that the most mighty monarchs in Europe are glad to enter into a league with them, and send yearly vast sums of money.

Thou wilt not, after what I have said, expect to find in Swisserland the riches of Arabia and Babylon, nor the rest of the luxurious and magnificent superfluities of the East ; the situation of the country, and nature of the soil, denies these glittering vanities ; it is sufficient that it brings forth enough to nourish the inhabitants.

They fear no foreign invasion, both on the account of this national poverty, and the inaccessible heights of the Alps, with which they are on all sides environed as by a wall ; add to this, the invincible resolution of the people, who abhor and fear subjection more than death itself ; so that no prince in Europe dares, or thinks it worth his while to carry a war into this country, knowing, that if

he should conquer it, the revenues, with all the spoil of his new-gotten possessions, would not counterbalance the expences of one short campaign : Besides, their union is so strict and close, that it is almost impossible to break or dissolve it. Then they have some very strong cities, castles, forts, and other places of defence, which would give no small diversion and incumbrance to him who should undertake such an expedition. In fine, such are their circumstances, that all the courts round about them think it safer to court this untamable nation, than to threaten or huff them.

I will relate to thee a story by way of instance or example, from whence thou mayest comprehend more clearly the humour of this people.

In former times, as I have already said, Swisserland was a province of the German empire, or at least reputed so ; and there were certain prefects or governors set over them by Cæsar, one succeeding another ; some of these, for their insolence, were driven out of the nation, others were killed by reason of their tyrannous and cruel practices. Among the rest, one of these governors, being disgusted at a certain Swiss, commanded him to be yoked with oxen that drew burdens in a cart ; but when neither by fair nor foul means they could force him to this vile condescension, he commanded his eyes to be put out, which was done accordingly. This was murmured at ; but being the first essay of his cruel disposition, they winked at it.

A while after, the same governor commanded a woman in her husband's absence, to prepare a hot bath for him, which when the chaste matron refused to perform till her husband came home, he struck her dead with an axe. This also, though heightening the choler of the Swiss, was passed by in meditation of future revenge.

At last he grew so foolishly proud and imperious, that walking one day in the streets of the city, he stuck his cane in the ground, and placed his turban or bonnet thereon, commanding all that passed by to give honour to it, which when a certain honest Swiss refused to do, he commanded him to strike off an apple from his son's head with a shot from his cross-bow; the good father for a long time refused thus to hazard his son's life; but being overcome by the tyrant's importunate menaces, he rather ventured to trust to providence the life of his son, than to sacrifice both that and his own to the implacable malice of a barbarian; so he shot, and hit the apple off, without touching his son's head. The governor seeing this, and taking notice that he brought two arrows with him, asked him the reason of it; to whom the Swiss answered, "If I had shot amiss, and hurt my son with the first arrow, I was resolved to have pierced thy heart with the second." Upon this all the people gave a shout, and running together, seized upon the governor, and tore him to pieces; neither would they ever afterwards endure or admit any man into their cities from the emperor, unless he came in the quality of an ambassador.

Serene minister, if these memoirs are in the least acceptable to thee, it is but to command, and thou shalt find I have a stock not easy to be exhausted.

Adieu, adieu, for the present. May the curtains of God's pavilion be unfurled about us, to screen us from the injuries of demons who hunt by night for mortals; for it is now their hour.

Paris, 6th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1679.

## VII.—To DIGNET OULO at Damascus.

I COULD hardly believe my own eyes, when I first read thy letter, and understood that thou art turned husbandman at last, and settled in a place the most delectable on earth, the very centre and rendezvous of all pleasures, and whatsoever is agreeable to mortals. Thou art a wary man, resolved to be sure of one paradise at least, though it be by mortgaging thy title to the other; thou wilt not suffer God Almighty to go upon tick with thee, nor trust all his promises for heaven in reversion; yet I cannot discommend thy cautiousness; we know not what shall befall us after death, and therefore nature prompts us to secure to ourselves some share of happiness in this life, and to antedate the uncertainties of a future bliss, by carving out our own heaven on this side the grave. However, I wish thou mayest not surfeit on thy present enjoyments, and so render thy soul incapable of the voyage to eternal beatitude. I tell thee, my Dignet, thou art a bold man, to venture on a place by choice, which the messenger of God purposely shunned as the most dangerous on earth; but I would not discourage thee; that city was then in the hands of infidels, a seat of profanation and idolatry; now it is sanctified by the presence of true believers, by the preaching of the law brought down from heaven, and by the mosques of perfect holiness.

As for the manner of life thou hast made choice of, I highly applaud it, as the most primitive, innocent, delightful, and happy above all others; many great princes and kings have exchanged the toilsome glory, and royal fatigues of empire, for the sweet tranquillity and ease of a country farm, and wholesome exercises of agriculture: Thus Dioclesian, a Roman emperor, quitted his throne for the sake of a private life, and those hands which had

been accustomed to wield the sceptre, became at last voluntarily familiar with the spade, the plough, and the harrow ; so the grand Cyrus, monarch of the Persians, used to boast of the gardens planted and sowed with his own hands ; and it is certain, that the Fabii, the Lentuli, the Ciceros, the Pisos, with many of the noblest families in ancient Rome, derived their names from those kind of vegetables which they signify, and which their fathers took delight in planting.

How many great authors have written in praise of husbandry ? Attalus and Archelaus, two kings, extolled it ; Xenophon and Mago, two generals, patronised it ; and Oppian the poet celebrates it in verse, besides Cato, Varro, Pliny, Columella, Virgil, and many others. Some have placed supreme felicity in this kind of life ; Virgil pronounces husbandmen fortunate, and Horace calls them blessed ; hence it was, that the Delphic oracle declared a certain man, named Aglaus, to be the happiest of all mortals, because he was busied in nothing but manuring and cultivating a little farm, never molesting himself with vain cares or passions, nor increasing the miseries of human life, by tampering with foreign and unnecessary pleasures, which, though full of blandishments, and sweet in the front, yet carry a sting in their tail, embittering all our joys.

Thou art situate in the most pleasant suburb of Damascus ; for I have surveyed that city, and all its precincts, with no small curiosity ; the house is encompassed with lovely gardens and meadows ; it was formerly the seat of Abul Mecharib, the famous shepherd, who took sanctuary there from the persecution of Ismael, beglerbeg of Diarbekir.

Thou knowest the story, and I need say no more than to wish thee as good fortune in possessing that rich spot of ground as he had, who, as it is recorded in the register

of Damascus, died worth an hundred purses of gold, most of it got by the increase of his cattle in those lucky fields.

For my part, I cannot pretend to skill in these things, but it appears to me like a good omen that thy predecessor was so prosperous in that farm. I advise thee to take his measures, and stock thy ground with sheep, oxen, camels, horses, and other animals of profit; think it no scorn to follow an employment ennobled by the examples of Romulus and Remus, the first founders of the Roman empire, of Paris the son of Priamus, of Anchises the father of Æneas, of Endymion the beloved of Diana, who were all herdsmen or shepherds; so was Polyphemus and Argus, so was Apollo, who tended the flocks of Admetus King of Thessaly. What shall I say of Mercury, the first inventor of the hautboy, and prince of shepherds, and of Proteus, another divinity? Was not Ibrahim, the father of mussulmans, a herdsman, and Moses the prophet familiar with God, and David the prince of poets? In a word, my friend, the most illustrious heroes among the ancient Greeks, Romans, and other nations, were all keepers of sheep, goats, oxen, &c. as the Arabians are at this day, with the Tartars, and other nations of the East.

Doubtless the rural life, as it is the most ancient, so it affords the sincerest pleasures, and most unrepented joy in nature, provided a man enjoys it with innocence and justice; but I would have thee avoid the common temptations to which this kind of life is more exposed than any other, that is, hunting and fowling; these are really detestable exercises, tragical sports, and altogether inhuman; it is a labour unworthy of man, to watch from day to day, and one night after another, the haunts of our fellow-animals, that we may destroy them; it is a cruel pleasure that must be maintained at the expence of so

much innocent blood, and a barbarous triumph, to insult over a poor mangled hare, or hind, after you have harassed them up and down the country for many hours together, with an army of dogs and men.

It is recorded that the Thebans were the first inventors of this unhappy sport, a nation infamous for deceit, thefts, perjuries, murders, and incests, from whom it passed to the Phrygians, a people no less wicked, but more foolish and easy, light and credulous, and for that reason they were despised by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians at first; however, those graver nations in a little time learned the trade of hunting of them, so infectious is the company and very neighbourhood of ill men, so prevalent the examples of such as are bold to lead the way in new paths of vice.

By the God whom I adore, my Dignity, it appears to me so foolish a pastime, an exercise so unbecoming the majesty of a rational spirit, to run yawling with a parcel of hounds, perhaps a whole day together, after some timorous animal, that I wonder men are not ashamed to practise it, especially great men and princes, who should excel others in the justice and clemency of their nature; yet these are most guilty of rapine, injuries, and spoil.

My dear friend, imitate not their pernicious examples, but tread in the steps of just and holy men, whom the birds and beasts would obey at a nod, because they could not smell the least odour of evil in them. How many prophets have been fed by ravens, hinds, cats, and other animals? Nay, the very serpents and dragons of the desert, with the amphibious monsters of Egypt, have quitted their native venom, to serve an innocent man; and when Omer the caliph was hard pursued by a troop of Egyptian idolaters, even to the banks of the Nile, he commanded a crocodile, which he spied in the river, to come

and ferry him over on his back, and the pious beast was obedient to his word ; doubtless this was a singular grace in the dumb creature, and he was translated to paradise, if our doctors say true.

Dgnet, I bid thee adieu, and wish thee a plentiful harvest, which is the most seasonable prayer I can make for thee at this time of the year.

Paris, 14th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1679.

VIII.—To ACHMET CUPRIÜGLI, *the Most Exalted and Sage Visier Azem.*

**T**HE face of affairs here in the West is now quite changed ; a general peace is established between the Nazarene princes and states : France, which a while ago was at mortal jars with the Hollanders, Spain, and the German empire, is lately reconciled to them, whilst new friendships and alliances have banished all thoughts of former enmities and feuds. This year commences a civil jubilee in Europe.

There has been a treaty of peace in agitation at Nimeguen, and conferences held about it any time these four or five years, whereof I formerly gave a hint in one of my letters to the Porte. The conclusion of it is owing to the powerful mediation of the King of Great Britain, who is made guarantor of the articles, and the submissive address of the Bishop of Strasburg to the King of France, contributed not a little to the universal agreement ; for this great monarch is slow in his advances towards an accommodation with those who have injured him or his allies ; he affects to imitate the stately reservedness of the Eastern princes, thinking his majesty would be violated, should he condescend too soon, and on too



easy terms, to the proposals of his neighbours ; he has learned this from the maxims of the sublime Porte, the refuge of mankind, whose arms are ever open to receive and embrace all that sue for the Grand Signior's friendship and protection, in a way not intrenching on the glory of the Ottoman house, a family destined to subdue the world.

This temper of the French king is so well known and observed in these parts, that he has got a new character by it both among foreigners and those of his own nation ; for they spare not to call him, The Most Christian Turk, by way of mockery ; and this is the satirical style even of his subjects, in their seditious cabals, when they are a little warmed with wine, and each man as great as a king himself in his own conceit.

By the swift flashes of lightning, which cause the heart to pant, and dazzle the eyes of mortals ; by the astonishing noise of thunder, which raises the vapours of the spleen, and fills us with hypochondriac dread, I swear the King of France is a great hero, and deserves the honour which these infidels have unfeignedly done him, in likening him to the undoubted arbiter of the earth ; he really determines the differences and quarrels of a great part of it ; and though he be a Christian in profession, and styled, The Eldest Son of the Church, yet he is no enemy to the followers of Mahomet, who vouchsafe him their friendship : Thou knowest he is the most primitive ally of the Ottoman empire among the western princes of the law of Jesus ; he has established a more remote friendship, for the sake of commerce, and spreading his renown, with the Grand Mogul, and the King of Persia ; his fame strikes all the East with admiration and respect, for they have heard of his continual victories and successful exploits, even to the utmost borders of the continent ;

yet the same fortune procures him only the spite and envy of the princes in the West.

However, they are glad to dissemble their malice at this juncture, and enter into an agreement with him, almost upon his own terms.

The treaty between France and Holland was published in this city on the first of the tenth moon, the year precedent: Now to assure the world that there is a perfect amity and peace, the Dutch have sent their ambassadors extraordinary, to acknowledge, that the king has preferred the repose of Christendom to the glory which his victorious arms acquired him, and that the United States of the Low Countries being the first who have felt the effects of his generosity, they thought themselves obliged to prevent others in the earliness of their application. Yesterday was also published the peace between France and the emperor.

I take my conge, most magnanimous visier, and friend of France, in the humblest posture of adoration, wishing thee honour, riches, and pleasures which shall have no end.

Paris, 27th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1679.

IX.—*To MEHÈMET, an exiled Eunuch, at Aleaire in Egypt.*

THERE are certain critical periods in our lives, whether ordained by fate, or falling out in an eternal circulation of chances, I am not able to determine; but this I perceive, that at such seasons, something very strange and unusual happens to us, above or beside the ordinary course of nature, or at least appearing so to me. I will not pretend to unravel the web of destiny, or describe the

incomprehensible fineness of that artifice which has framed the worlds; I will not undertake to discover the secrets of God, the mysteries of nature, and those things which are, under a seal, shut up from mortals in inscrutable darkness; I will not, by a vain presumption and impious arrogance, claim to myself the right of omniscience, and dive into other men's constitutions and thought; suffice it that I comprehend my own.

Thou knowest, my Mehemet, that I have been a man of many circumstances, subject to various changes and vicissitudes in this mortal state; my life has been alternately checkered with good and evil; virtue and vice have had their turns in the series of my actions, prosperity and adversity in the course of my years; and I would fain find out the man that can with truth boast the contrary. Doubtless we are all born to the adventures which happen in the pell-mell of human conversation: Fates-errant encounter one another; sometimes they are agreeable and complaisant; at other seasons they will clash and tilt, break lances, draw swords, and all the weapons of nature's pride and fury shall be used in mere defence of idiosyncrasies, conceits, antipathies, self-interest, preservation, or any thing but what is generous and good.

• O horrid state of men! a life to be deplored beyond the savage course of lions, tigers, wolves, and other beasts of prey, who always, in extremest hunger, spare their proper species! Yet man, in perfect wantonness, devours his brother, and glories in his cruelty and injustice.

As for me, I have not been guilty of any of these black crimes, which make a riot in the tranquillity of the soul, disturb its peace, darken its light, and cover it with a cloud of guilty, desperate thoughts. No; if I have been enemy to any body, it has been to myself; the very

beasts, cannot challenge me with oppression, or any barbarous usage ; much less would I torment one individual of our human race ; but I have had my frailties as well as other men, and there is all can be said of it. Thou art acquainted with my temper, and nobody knows any worse. It is true I have had to do with abundance of people in my life time ; I have bullied it, lioned, lambled, and sometimes foxed it in the world ; I have always pursued the chase of nature ; come life, come death, I have made no baulks in the appointments of fate, or ever put the eternal destiny to a stand ; I never halted, boggled, or framed a stumble at a generous and noble action, a bold and godlike enterprise ; but from my cradle I disdained and cherished infant abhorrences for an inhuman, barbarous, perfidious, cowardly thought.

Indeed, I have been too great a lover of good company, too easy, flexible, and free in drinking wine, and other inebriating liquors, whose use is taught from heaven, and is the genuine product of eternal reason ; but the excess is sure derived from hell, the seat of everlasting evil, vanity, and error. And yet to whom, or to what cause or principles, shall I ascribe the many extravagancies of this kind that I have committed ? I, that have suffered the thaws of a thousand putrid fevers, let all my radical, essential, necessary juices and humours, (though never so well and firmly congealed by the force of an excellent and happy constitution of body) melt and dissolve away, in horrid fluxes, sweats, &c. rather than baulk my friends, or the Grand Signior's cause, rather than sneak away from boon companions, in a principle of sordid prudence ! To speak all, I am no starter from the juice of the grape, when it is handed to me by men of sense and good humour, especially when it is to serve my sovereign ; and I know not how to perform

that service better, at some times, than by giving nature an escapade, as the French call it, from the too severe restraints of constant sobriety: I was not sent to Paris, that I should lead the life of an hadgi, but to dive into the secrets of the infidels, which a man cannot do better than over a glass of generous wine, for that unlocks the cabinets of the heart, and reveals all secrets.

I tell thee plainly, Mehemet, I drink wine liberally and frequently, finding no devil in the quality of it, but only in the excess; and such a devil appeared to me last week, in the night-time; I had caroused it like a German for some whole days together, in order to the carrying on an intrigue of moment, yet I found myself no ways disordered, neither could any body else perceive, by one false step in my carriage, that I was more than civilly and cheerfully elevated.

It was the hottest season in all the year, which prompted me, and those that kept me company, to regale ourselves after the most refreshing manner we could invent; our drink was an artificial mixture of the wine, water, the juice of lemons, odoriferous and cephalic herbs, fruits, and whatsoever else could render it cooling and delicious to the palate, medicinal to the brain, heart, and stomach.

I will not detain thee in impatience with any more particularities, only I thought it necessary to acquaint thee with the method of my drinking, that thou mayest form the more accurate judgment on the consequence which I am going to relate.

It was in the evening of the day dedicated to Saturn by the Gentiles (which is the same as the Jews Sabbath); our drinking ended the day before, and I, in a very melancholy humour, went to bed; I slept till midnight profoundly, but then awaking, I was surprised with the ap-

parition of an old man, much resembling myself; he seemed to look very studious, and full of care, sitting in a chair, and leaning on the table, in just such an habit as I wear, with such a beard, and every thing that can be called my true portraiture; I lay musing and gazing for the space of about twenty minutes on this amazing object; I mustered up all that little philosophy I am master of, to consider the nature of the phantasm; I argued with myself, summoned all my reason, subpoenaed my senses, sat up in the bed, took my polvita, reached my head as far as I could without tumbling out of the bed, and the more I roused myself, the plainer did this familiar figure of myself appear by the light of a lamp which always burns in my chamber.

Yet being naturally incredulous of the common stories of ghouls, apparitions, hobgoblins, &c. I still suspect that I was either all this while in a dream, or at least, if awake, that my imagination was vitiated and imposed upon; wherefore, to satisfy myself more thoroughly, I jumped out of the bed; no sooner had my feet touched the floor of the chamber, but a sacred horror possessed my nerves; I trembled at the now more apparent vision; however, resuming courage, and resigning myself to God, I went forward, and approached so near the uncouth spectre, that it was within the reach of my hand, which I stretched forth to touch it, thinking this way to undeceive myself; but, O my Mehemet! no tongue nor pen can ever express the dreadful metamorphosis I saw; for instead of the same face which I saw before, my eyes were now accosted with the dreadful countenance of a lion, gnashing his teeth, and darting perfect sparks of fire from his looks, besides the horrid twirling of his head, and manly beard, with all the other natural motions of that animal in its fierceness.

I know not what would have become of me, if a good-natured ape had not come in to my relief, who peeped and grinned upon me over the lion's shoulders; nay, thought I, if you are so merry in such company, I will not disturb you, good Mr. Ape! and so I fairly took my leave, turned my back, and went to bed again.

It is my nature not to be afraid, or shrink from the imagination of a ghost or spectre, or what you please to call it, for I am satisfied there is no more than pure imagination in it; but I retired in complaisance to my own fancy, which I perceived was upon the creative frolic; had I stood still, perhaps a dragon had started next, or some more dreadful animal; or it is possible I had been terrified with a herd of lynxes, leopards, tigers, bears, and whatsoever else is savage and morose in nature; for I tell thee I was then in a condition to paint the walls with any figure which should rise within my overheated brains.

At such a time there are emissions from the eyes, forcible as the pencils of a limner; a man's fermented optic nerves will draw the portraiture of saints or devils, or any thing that can be named, except the Everlasting Source of all things.

He indeed is altogether ineffable, who cannot be expressed by tongue or pen, or by any other way, but humble negatives; there runs a silent fountain by the door of this tremendous and inviolate recess, of which the castrate angels drink at certain set appointed seasons, and then the universe is all inebriated with the reversion of his cup; for, it is the ceremony of the court above, that he should leave no snuffs or supernaculums behind him, but scatter them abroad, to treat the thirsty world below. Blessed is the man who has a share in this celestial commotation.

Pardon me for thus digressing in perfect piety ; for we ought not to name the High and Holy One without additional reverence.

In short, I lay but the space of half an hour gazing on this odd kind of apparition, which had now resumed my physiognomy again ; at last it vanished all on a sudden, whilst my eyes were intently fixed upon it. It is impossible to express exactly the manner how it disappeared ; but according to the best idea, and properest form of words I have, it seemed to be dispersed just as a smoke or vapour is resolved or rarefied into the purer air, or as the moon's pale light, which shines within your chamber, is unawares extinguished in appearance by some intervening cloud ; so did this spectre fade and melt away.

If thou wilt have my judgment in this case, I think there was nothing in it but the pure force and energy of my over-agitated spirits, which darted the impression of their own ideas on the next solid body that was within the sphere of their activity : The air itself at such a time is more than ordinary flexible and ductile ; it yields by sympathy, and is conformable to the transient image ; it helps to patch up the defects and ragged forms of our frail fancies ; millions of atoms run to relieve the weakened half-spent efflux of their attractive and magnetic kindred particles ; pell-mell they rush together, yet fall into their proper ranks without disorder or confusion ; every one stops a gap, prevents a vacuum, and so the abortive figure is completed. Nature is sometimes pleased thus to divert herself with strange chimeras ; even so this world of ours was formed, if we may believe Democritus and Epicurus.

Thou and I, my dear Mehemet, are but two different lumps of particles, tacked and stitched and glewed together by the birdlime of chance.



I wish, when that gl<sup>ew</sup> shall be dissolved, we may scamper at large in the endless element of light.

Paris, 3d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1679.

X.—*To the CALIDESQUER of Romeli.*

My mind is at this time in an astral disposition, as they call it, tender, and receptive of any impressions; I am like a young libertine newly converted from his lewd courses and impiety, whose heart a devout compunction and remorse of sin has softened, opened, and, as it were, dissolved like wax, so that it becomes equally capable of any new stamp, whether of vice or virtue. Thus pliable and ductile am I at present, through a kind of fatal supineness or inactivity of spirit, which takes from me the power of forming one substantial, lively thought of my own, or exerting any strong and laborious act of reason, yet at the same time lays me open to the invasion of all foreign ideas, and exposes me to be taken captive by every bold argument, or sly ambush of human sophistry. In a word, I am of a sudden so weak and unmortified, that I dare not enter the field of religious controversies, or so much as stand and behold the battle between the different sects that are perpetually disputing against one another in the world, lest a random shot from one party or other should reach my unguarded soul, and give my intellect a mortal wound.

Forbearing therefore to enlarge in giving thee a particular account of all the nice differences that are of late years sprung up among these western infidels, in matters of opinion and church discipline, I will only inform thee in short, that those who first revolted from the Bishop of Rome, still retained an inviolable attach and dutiful reve-

rence for their own national bishops, submitting to their conduct, and owning them as fathers and guides of their respective churches.

But as there is no end of divisions, when once the unity of a people is broken, which is the only cement that fastens all societies, so this first separation from the Roman episcopacy soon begat another from all episcopacy in general, through most of the reformed or Protestant nations in Europe, especially in Scotland, the theatre of many bickerings and animosities on this account, of bloody combats, and civil wars, and finally, now in this year, the stage of a barbarous murder committed on the person of the chief mufti, or archbishop of that nation.

He was a man of an accurate and extraordinary spirit, and in his very youth gave early marks of a refined genius in sciences, to which he brought no small reputation and honour through the vastness of his abilities, his profound judgment, and dexterous sagacity in all things that he undertook.

This is the character given him by those of his nation resident here in Paris, of whom there are always great numbers; and the Kings of France were formerly never without a select guard of Scots about their persons which custom had been observed ever since the reigns of Charles the Great, and of Achaius King of the Scots, between whom this was agreed upon in a solemn league, and was observed through the reigns of one-and-forty Kings of France, and six-and-forty of Scotland. The Scots also used to send them auxiliary forces in time of war; nay, so great was the affection, and so constant the fidelity of that people to the French, that when at one time a war has threatened France, they have drawn it into their own country, have suffered the loss of ten thousand men in one battle, and seen their king taken cap-

tive ; at another time, fighting for the French against the English, though inhabiting the same island with them, selves, they have had fourteen thousand of their soldiers, with their king, killed upon the spot.

And that nothing might be wanting to confirm and establish the friendship of nations, it was customary to make reciprocal marriages one with another, that so the French and Scots blood might be mutually mixed in both countries.

Thus Lewis XI. when he was Dauphin of France, married Margaret, daughter of James I. King of Scotland ; at which time the grandees and courtiers of France, in imitation of the dauphin's example, (such is the force of French complaisance) married above an hundred and forty Scots ladies of illustrious birth and quality, among whom were two sisters of the Scots queen, one becoming wife to the Duke of Little Bretagne, the other to the Count of Flanders : The Scots nobility, on the other hand, married many French ladies of great extraction, transporting them to Scotland, where they settled and bore children.

The Kings of France being moved with gratitude for the frequent aids and good offices they received from the Scots, as also regarding the losses which the Scots had sustained in their quarrels, and the strict affinities that were made between the princes, nobles, and other people of both nations, resolved to testify to the world how acceptable this obsequiousness of the Scots was to them, by honouring them with benefits and privileges above all other nations.

Therefore, some of the Scots grandees were made great constables of France, which is the greatest office and dignity in the kingdom, next to that of the sovereignty itself ; others were made marshals, dukes, and

peers of France, generals of the French armies, viceroys of tributary provinces and kingdoms: All the Scots in general were had in high honour and esteem at the French court, and enjoyed the same rights and immunities as the very natives themselves, by the special grant of Henry II. but with this condition, that they should persevere in their fidelity and friendship to the French, and that the French who dwelt in any part of Scotland should enjoy the same rights and privileges as the natives of the country. The Parliament of Paris subscribed to this grant, and it was confirmed by Henry IV. about the year 1599.

Likewise Charles XI. confirmed to the Scots merchants all those privileges and immunities which their ancestors had enjoyed, that they should be free from all exactions, imposts, and customs, which are usually paid for merchandises.

As to the original rise of the Scots guards about the French king's person, I will tell thee as briefly as I can.

Lewis, who acquired the title of saint, for warring in person against the mussulmans, when he marched towards Palestine, appointed four-and-twenty Scots soldiers to have the guard of his person night and day; Charles V. augmenting their number to seventy-six, yet still reserving this honour for the first four-and-twenty, that they should have the command of the rest.

Thus the custody of the king's body remained with the Scots for the space of seventy years and upwards; Charles VII. being willing to oblige the French, appointed a guard of them to be about his person under one standard; Lewis X. added another standard; and Francis I. adjoined a third; but without intrenching on the prerogatives of the twenty-four Scots, which they still enjoyed by right of antiquity and prescription, as also by the sanction of St. Lewis, for whom the French profess

a great veneration. These twenty-four Scots kept the keys of the royal palace after sun-set; they alone guarded the king when he was in the temple at mass; they alone carried the king, when the laws of the land, and the ceremonies of state required him to be carried on men's shoulders; they guarded the ships when the king went by water; and to them were the keys of every town delivered through which the king passed in his travels by land, with many other singular honours.

But after the death of Henry II. when the Earl of Montgomery, the last commander of the Scots guards, was removed from his office, and a French officer placed over them in his stead, that command always fell into the hands of Frenchmen, who by degrees substituting those of their own nation in the room of the Scots who died, it came to pass at length that there remained but a very few Scots in the guards, and those were bereft of all their ancient privileges.

Pardon this tedious digression, great patriarch of the faithful, since it contains some curious memoirs in it; and I naturally fell into it by speaking of the Scots, who are very numerous in Paris to this day, and from whom I learned the foregoing character of their murdered archbishop, who was the prime patriarch of all the land, his ordinary title being Archbishop of St. Andrews.

This great and highest ecclesiastical dignity was given him by the present King of England, at his return from a twelve years exile, as a debt to his great abilities, and a reward of his merits and services, in labouring might and main to effect the king's restoration.

From the moment that he acquired this honour, such as were equally enemies to the government of kings and bishops persecuted him with slanders and invectives; the streets swarmed with libels against him, and men's tongues

were as busy as their pens in railing at him, because he was resolved to endeavour his utmost that episcopacy might be restored in Scotland as it was in England, though it had been subverted in both nations during the usurpation of Oliver the tyrant. It was this drew upon him the malice and revenge of the seditious, and they spared not in public to threaten his death; nay, some years before he was murdered, one of these furiosos shot at him in the open streets of Edinburgh, but missed him; then the seditious published libels, wherein they gloried in the attempt, and only were sorry that it took not effect; they also prophesied that he should die a violent death; and it was easy for them to presage this which they were resolved to execute themselves.

Accordingly in the 3d and 4th moons of this year, they were ready to give the fatal blow, but his watchfulness prevented them; however, on the 3d of the moon of May, as he was travelling with his eldest daughter in his coach, with two or three servants attending him, he was set upon at mid-day by nine of these religious ruffians, who having first wounded his beloved daughter, to enhance his dying grief, then hacked and hewed him in a butcherly and barbarous manner, till at length they left him dead on the spot.

Venerable cadifesquer, I pray God defend thee from popular envy, malice, and revenge, from the wounds given by the pens of libellers, and the tongues of the spiteful; but above all, I pray Heaven guard thee from being massacred by religious assassins and bloody zealots.

Paris, 17th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1670.

XI.—*To HEBATOLLA, Mir Argun, Superior of the De-  
vices at Cogni in Natolia.*

**D**OUBTLESS there never was any creature formed of flesh and blood comparable to the Messiah, no mortal like the Son of Mary; Jesus was replenished with all the natural excellencies and perfections of the universe.

I am not so profane or presumptuous as to think or say any thing in contempt of Mahomet, though I take the liberty to celebrate the high praises of the Word Incarnate, the first-born, and most illustrious of all beings on this side the Eternal Father; the Holy Ghost itself comes behind him.

When the Everlasting Intellect had from indeterminate ages lain dreaming on the soft and downy bed of chaos, or the first matter, in the grand cabin of uncircumscribed darkness, and enveloped with the curtains of old night; when he had tumbled, tossed, and rolled from side to side; when he had stretched his endless limbs for ease, to seek one corner of the infinite expanse, where he might abate the sempiternal heat of love, at last he fixed his foot upon the cool idea of this world of ours.

Then sprang the Word from the all-fertile womb; the melancholy sad abyss rejoiced; for in the Word was light and life, which darting through the eternal heap of sluggish and inactive matter, with divine chemistry first drew an extract of the purest parts which formed the firmament, next rose the sun, the moon, and stars, and then the grosser elements, with all their different productions.

These are the generations of the universe, when God made the heavens and the earth, and the angels started out of the grand energy like volatile spirits from Balm of Mariz.

All things visible and invisible proceed from the Word, and the most excellent of created beings owe their original to him that was the only instrument by which the Eternal Architect contrived and framed this vast machine, so incomprehensible and glorious.

O Hebatolla ! who can enough admire this mighty product of the Eternal Mind ? And yet the greatest and most excellent theatre of beings is hid from mortal eyes. Therefore leaving those high and lofty speculations, let us descend to the Word Incarnate, or the Breath of God, walking and conversing on earth with men, in the humble disguise of flesh and blood. The same was the Messiah of the Christians, as the alcoran in several places assures us, and the Christian gospel of the Eagle confirms it, where it says, “ In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, &c. and the Word became flesh, and pitched his tent among us.”

Doubtless he was conceived of the Virgin Mary by the smell of that rose which the angel Gabriel brought to her from paradise ; for he was not begot by the will of man, or through the lust of concupiscence, but by a sudden infusion of the divine virtue. The power of the Omnipotent overshadowed, surprised, and ravished the holy maid in a transport of joy ; she took the flower from the hand of Gabriel, which she had no sooner smelt to, but she was ready to dissolve and faint away in an ecstasy of love ; but the angel cherished her with comfortable words, and she became resigned to the will of the All merciful and Gracious.

At the end of nine months Jesus was born of her, not after the manner of other children ; for as the book of mysterious secrets tells us, “ He came forth from between her breasts, wrapt up in a mantle of aromatic roses.”



The daughters of paradise came down and waited on the virgin mother, at the hour of her unspeakable childbirth; they took the holy infant in their arms, and over the vesture of his nativity they put on garments brought from Eden, robes of their own handiwork, and then they fed him with the wine and milk of paradise; after they had performed what was necessary to the infant Messias, and his immaculate mother, the heavenly maids returned to their blissful seats above, and sent down Ariel, with a choir of angels, to declare the birth of Jesus to this world below, and to celebrate the high praises of God: They were seen in the upper regions of the air, by certain shepherds who watched the flocks by night; their voices were also heard from afar, chanting aloud the hymns of Eden, and the select anthems of paradise; great was the astonishment of those rude and ignorant mortals; their eyes were dazzled at the lustre of the heavenly troop, and their ears were ravished with the superlative sweetness of the music; those that were upon the roads of Judca, the caravans of Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, the travellers from Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon, saw the surprising vision; they were equally seized with wonder and joy; they heard the harmonious tongues of angels warbling forth immortal melodies; then their hearts melted within them, and they prostrated themselves on the earth, and praised the Most High, the King of all things.

The fame of such extraordinary events soon spread through the adjacent regions, and to the utmost borders of the South: The Magi of Persia made a pilgrimage to Bethlehem; to visit the infant Messias; they fell down at the feet of the holy babe, presenting him with gifts, gold, incense, and myrrh.

Thus Jesus grew up, increasing in wisdom, knowledge, and virtue. .

I will not run over the history of his life, having done that already in one of my former letters to thee ; all that I aim at in this dispatch, is, to testify the profound veneration I have for that most Holy Prophet, who was no other than the breath and word of God incarnate. It becomes all good musfulmans to speak of him with honour and reverence, for he is seated on high, and in paradise, where are the approaches to God.

O Hebatolla ! pray for Mahmut, that the entanglements of this mortal life may not hinder him from sitting with Jesus and Mahomet in the kingdom of everlasting bliss.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1679.

XII.—To KERKER HASSAN, *Bassa*.

THOU requirest an account of the present state of England, with a character of their king, in regard there are various rumours among the merchants at the imperial city, of certain commotions and rebellious essays of malcontents in that island.

The name of the king who reigns there at present is Charles II. eldest son of Charles I. and heir apparent of the British crowns ; for his empire consists of three kingdoms, which he has in actual possession, besides many vast territories and dominions in America, not to insist on his titular claim to the realm of France.

He is a prince of great wit and policy, nor of less courage where a just occasion requires the discovery of that virtue ; he underwent innumerable hardships and misfortunes during his twelve years exile from his native throne,

forced to fly into foreign countries by a prevailing faction of rebels, tyrants, and usurpers ; of humour debonair and amorous ; much addicted to wine and women ; munificent in his gifts and rewards to persons of merit, and to those who have the happiness to please him in his recreations, especially to his concubines, who are most of them nobly extracted. By these females he has had several sons, who are all dukes and peers of the realm ; he is in peace with all the world abroad, except the Moors of Sallee ; yet this prince cannot be called happy, in that he is harassed at home by domestic seditions, factions, plots, and conspiracies of his own subjects.

Here is a report that the Roman catholics of that nation have lately attempted to take away the life of this monarch ; whilst others say this accusation is forged by their enemies, to render them odious, and that to this end they have suborned false witnesses to swear against them. One does not know what to believe among so many contrary rumours ; neither does it much concern us that are musfulmans, whether party of these infidels be right or wrong.

This prince, as I have said before, has several nations under his dominion, and it is thought he scarce knows the just extent of his territories in America : There is a region in that continent inhabited by a people whom they call Tuscoraras and Doege ; their language is the same as is spoken by the British, or Welsh, a nation that formerly possessed all the island of Great Britain, but were by degrees driven out of it into a mountainous corner of the island, where their posterity remain to this day.

Those Tuscoraras and Doege of America are thought to descend from them, being the posterity of such as followed the fortune of one Madoe, a British prince, who, about five or six hundred years ago, being discontented at

home, resolved to seek adventures abroad; wherefore, being provided with ships, men, and all other necessaries, he made a voyage towards the West over the Atlantic ocean, not knowing what would be the event of his undertaking; however, the moon had scarce twice completed her voyage through the zodiac, when an end was put to his on the sea, by landing in America, where he planted a colony of Britons, and then returned to his native country; but soon after he put to sea again, and sailed directly to the same place. What became of him afterwards is not certainly known; but the inhabitants of that province have a tradition, "that he lived to a great age, and saw his people multiplied to many thousands before he died:" For in the second voyage he carried over British women with him for the sake of posterity. They show his tomb to this day, with beads, crucifixes, and other relics.

It is certain that when the Spaniards first conquered Mexico, they were surprised to hear the inhabitants discourse of a strange people that formerly came thither in corraughs, who taught them the knowledge of God and of immortality, instructed them also in virtue and morality, and prescribed holy rites and ceremonies of religion. It is remarkable also, what an Indian king said to a Spaniard, viz. "That in foregoing ages, a strange people arrived there by sea, to whom his ancestors gave hospitable entertainment, in regard they found them men of wit and courage, endowed also with many other excellencies; but he could give no account of their original or name." And Montezuma, Emperor of Mexico, told Fernando Cortez, the Spanish king's ambassador, and general in those parts, "That his own ancestors landed there as strangers, being conducted by a certain great man, who tarried there a while, and then departed, having left a considerable number of his followers behind him: After a year, he re-

turned again with a greater company; and that from him the Emperors of Mexico derived their pedigree, and his subjects from the rest." The British language is so prevalent here, that the very towns, bridges, beasts, birds, rivers, hills, &c. are called by British or Welsh names; and a certain inhabitant of Virginia (a place subject to the King of Great Britain) straggling not long ago into the wilderness, by chance fell among a people, who, according to some law or custom of theirs, condemned him to death, when he, in the hearing of them, made his prayer to God in the British tongue, upon which he was released.

Who can tell the various transmigrations of mortals on earth, or trace out the true originals of any people? The whole globe has suffered divers changes, and every particular nation has had its metempsychosis. What grows obsolete and antiquated in one country becomes a new discovery in another; the houses of the living are built on the bones of the dead; children lay the foundation of their grandeur in the ruin of their fathers; and the generations to come will practise this chemistry on our relics that are now living; they will extract their fortune out of our ashes.

By the white stone which Adam brought with him out of paradise, and which fell by inheritance to Abraham, Ismael, and his offspring for ever; that stone which at this day lies under the mosque at Mecca, and grows black by the touch of sinners; I swear the Arabians are an aboriginal people, a nation established from all antiquity, a stayed race, not canted up and down hither and thither by every caprice of fortune.

Wherefore be assured, noble Arab, that besides my particular obligations, I honour thee for the sake of thy descent, thy purified blood, and pacific temper; wishing

for nothing more ardently than the happiness of kissing the border of thy vest in this life, or at least of seeing thee in the paradise of perpetual rest, from whence there are no farther transmigrations.

Paris, 2d of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1679.

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XIII.—*To the most magnanimous and invincible Visier*  
AZEM.

IN the 4th moon of this year, I sent thee an account of the treaties concluded and published between France and the Hollanders, as also of a peace established with the German empire; now I shall acquaint thee that a like agreement is published with Spain; the two haughty monarchs seen perfectly reconciled; and to convince the world that they are so really, the King of Spain has married this king's daughter.

The Marquis de los Balbaces made his public entry into Paris on the 11th of the 6th moon, in quality of ambassador-extraordinary from the catholic King; and his chief business was, to testify the sincere joy and satisfaction his master took in the hopes he had of seeing a lasting peace settled, not only between these two crowns, but also throughout Europe; that so the Christian princes, whose arms had been hitherto employed against one another, to the general detriment of Christendom, might now be united against the common enemy, by which he meant the faithful Osmans. In order to this, he desired that the daughter of France might be given to his master in marriage, as a confirmation of the peace between them.

This was soon granted him; and the news was no sooner arrived at Madrid, but the Spanish king expressed a more than common complacency, causing their *Te Deum*

to be publicly sung, to give God thanks for so great a happiness. The streets of Madrid were illuminated also with all manner of fire-works ; but the ceremony of betrothing was not performed till the 8th moon ; it was done at Fontainebleau, the court being there at that time, and the Marquis de los Balbaces was the King of Spain's proxy. After which time, Mademoiselle, as they called her before, held her rank at court as Queen of Spain ; and in that quality she received the compliments and addresses of the Archbishop of Paris, at the head of his chapter ; as also of the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, the court of money, the university, and so of the great council, and the French academy. Now this great princess is gone towards Spain, to take possession of her new royalty, which is no better than a splendid servitude or glorious imprisonment during her life ; for the laws and customs concerning women are as severely observed in the court of Spain as in any part of that country, and the queen herself is no more exempted from keeping them than the meanest of her subjects. There are certain set hours, out of which she cannot see so much as the king himself ; for his time is parcelled out, and divided between the service of the public and of his own personal necessities, the affairs of state, of religion, and of nature ; so that the queen must be altogether shut up from the sight of men, unless it be when any ambassador has audience of her, or when she goes to church, or to see the public sport of bull-baiting, with such like spectacles, or lastly, when her confessor comes to visit her ; at other times she is only a companion of women, a mere recluse, chambered up in her own melancholy apartment, without the liberty of ranging the palace ; whereas, in France the women converse with men, and go abroad, when they please, with an unrestrained freedom ; they discourse of

state matters, and of religion; they undertake to censure both civil and canon laws, correct philosophy, and reform the morals of the ancients; in a word, the French ladies take a particular pride in appearing very learned and knowing, as if they had been educated in the academies; they also go a-hunting, hawkking, fishing, and fowling, even as the men: There is hardly any game or exercise, study or recreation, which is not common to both sexes; whereas the Spanish females are kept in ignorance, and have no more liberty than captives; only, as I said, the queen is permitted to see the bull-baitings, but it must be in company with her husband, as well as other ladies.

This celebrated sport of baiting, or coursing the bull, is so well known to thee who hast been an eye-witness of it at Tunis, and other cities of Barbary, that I need say no more of it, but to observe that the Spaniards first learned it from the Moors, when those Africans dwelt among them, having conquered that kingdom.

But to return to the servile life which the Queens of Spain lead: They are obliged to go to bed at a certain precise stroke of the clock every night, with this only difference, that it is an hour later in summer than in winter. Besides her, there is no other married woman suffered to lie in the king's palace, so that the queen is attended only by virgins or widows; neither can she herself ever marry again after the king's death; and so naturally jealous are the Spaniards of their wives, that if the queen fall into any disaster, by chance or conspiracy, as to be thrown down by her gennet, even to the breaking of her limbs and hazard of her life, none of her pages, nor any other man whatsoever, dares to lift her up, or any other way assist her, nay, not so much as by stopping the horse, if he should drag her in the stirrup. Judge now, magnificent visier, whether it be a desirable thing for a French



princess to be made Queen of Spain. A princess bred up in a court abounding with all sorts of gentilleses, gallantries, and delightful liberties, must needs think herself in a monastery, or some worse place of confinement, after she has been but a day or two in the court of Spain. But reasons of state supersede all these inconveniencies. It is the peculiar unhappiness of the princes here in the West, that they marry for interest more than for love.

There is another match going forward between the Dauphin of France, and the Princess Anna Maria Victoire, sister to the Duke of Bavaria; these infidels are uniting their scattered strengths and interests; it looks as if they had some secret design against the true believers.

Illustrious prince of the princes who serve the Grand Signior, I pray that the empire of the faithful may be exalted, and stand firm till the angel of the cave sound his trumpet.

Paris, 10th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1679.

#### XIV.—*To the Venerable MUFTI.*

THAT I may give thee a clearer idea of Rome's original, it is necessary to step farther backward in antiquity, and cast our eyes on the ruins of Troy, set on fire by the Greeks, and laid in ashes after a war of ten years, to revenge the rape of Helena, wife to Menelaus, whom Paris the Trojan prince, and guest to Menelaus, carried away with him by force.

From the deplorable flames of Troy, Antenor and Æneas escaped, and got to sea; the former being forced by distress of weather on that part of Italy which is now under the dominion of Venice, where he built Padua;

the latter came with a fleet of two-and-twenty ships to Latium; now called Campagna di Roma, and St. Peter's Patrimony, being the estate of the church.

At that time Latinus, the son of Faunus, or, as some say, of Hercules, reigned in Latium, before whom there had been but four kings in the country; those were Janus, Saturnus, Picus, and Faunus. Whilst Janus reigned, Saturn being expelled by his son Jupiter, fled to Italy, where being hospitably received, he built a castle, calling it after his own name Saturnia; at length he obtained the kingdom of Latium, which he left to his son Picus, and he to Faunus.

In his time, Evander sailed out of Arcadia, and came to Italy, sixty years before the destruction of Troy; he built a town called Pallantium, where afterwards Rome was built. Much about the same time the Pelagians went out of Thessaly into Epirus and Dodona first, and then passing over into Italy, joined themselves with the aboriginal Arcadians, who were got thither before them; these united their forces, and expelled the Sicilians from the country, who passing over to Trinacria, or the island of Three Capes, gave it the name of Sicilia, which it retains to this day. When Evander had been five years in Italy, Hercules, with a company of Greeks, landing on the same shore, was kindly entertained by him.

At length the kingdom of Latium fell to Latinus, in whose reign Æneas came thither, and having entered into a league with Latinus, married his daughter Lavinia, from whose name he called a town which he built in those parts Lavinium. Then Turnus, King of the Rutuli, being angry that Latinus had given his daughter to a stranger, rather than to him who was a native, and to whom she was before betrothed, invaded his country; but the Rutuli were overcome in battle, and both Turnus and

Latinus lost their lives, so that the kingdom fell to Æneas; but he enjoyed it not long; for the Rutuli, at three years end, came against him, under the conduct of Mezentius, King of the Tyrrhenians, now called Tuscans; and Æneas being killed in the battle, his son Ascanius took possession of the kingdom. He having made peace with Mezentius, and quelled the rest of his enemies, built a city which he called Longa Alba, the thirtieth year from the building of Lavinium. In this city of Longa Alba, there reigned after Ascanius fourteen kings, even to the time of Romulus, and the foundation of Rome; the fourteenth of these kings was Amulius, who overreached his brother Numitor, to whom the kingdom belonged by right of primogeniture; and to be secure of all things, he made Sylvia, the only daughter of Numitor, a vestal, that he might have no fear of Numitor's posterity; yet Sylvia was got with child by somebody, and brought forth twins, who were called Romulus and Remus. These were exposed to the wide world by the command of King Amulius, and privately nourished by Faustulus, till they came of years; then being informed of their birth and extraction, with the true state of things, they slew Amulius, and restored their grandfather Numitor to his kingdom, in the second year of whose reign, Romulus built the city of Rome.

In the eighteenth year of his age, Romulus was saluted king, when he had killed his brother Remus, for leaping in contempt over the ditch he had made round the city: Thus he consecrated the fortifications of the city with his own blood. But all this while Romulus had built but the shadow of a city, since there was no inhabitants to people and defend it; however, he quickly pitched upon a method to supply this defect; there was a grove hard by, which he made a sanctuary for all persons in distress, and

who were willing to make their fortunes upon hazard: This was proclaimed in the neighbouring regions, and an innumerable multitude of criminals, debtors, and malcontents, flocked thither from all parts, besides shepherds and other persons, who only through a natural inconstancy sought a change of life; so that there was a gallimaufry of Trojans who came over with Æneas, of Arcadians who followed Evander, and of several other nations, besides the natives of Tuscany and Latium; out of these, as out of so many elements, Romulus extracted the body of a commonwealth; but he considered withal, that this new republic could not subsist beyond the age and lives of those men who formed it, they being without hopes of posterity, as having no women among them: To provide for this inconvenience, they treated with the bordering people about marriages, which being denied them, they had recourse to stratagems and violence; they invited the Sabines and other neighbours to come and see some plays, which they promised to exhibit in honour of Neptune.

The bait took, and multitudes of both sexes, especially the younger sort, thronged thither to be spectators of the Roman novelties; when on a sudden, a certain signal being given, the Romans leaped from their places, and rushing among the strangers, every man seized the female that best pleased him, or that first came to hand, and made her his wife.

This was the cause of speedy wars; for the neighbouring people, who had been thus robbed of their women, took up arms to revenge the injury; but they were routed, put to flight, and one of their towns laid waste; the Romans also took rich spoils from them, which they consecrated to their gods.

In the mean time the city of Rome was delivered into the hands of the Sabines, by Tarpeia a virgin, who, as some say, was corrupted with gold by Tatius, the captain of the Sabines; whilst others affirm that she did it innocently, and with a design to save the city, instead of betraying it; for she asked, as a reward of her supposed treason, the shields of the Sabines, thinking, that being thus in part disarmed, they might easily be overcome by the Romans; but they, sensible of her stratagem, promised what she demanded, and performed it accordingly, but in such a manner as plainly discovered their revenge of an injury, rather than their gratitude for a kindness; for they threw their shields so thick upon her, that they pressed her to death.

Then entering the city pell-mell, there commenced a furious battle between the Romans and the Sabines; the streets flowed with blood, till the wives of the Romans, for whose sake this war began, came tearing their hair, and running between the two armies, at length brought them to a truce and agreement: Then a solemn league was made between Romulus and Tatius; and what is more wonderful, the Sabines leaving their native seats, came with all their wealth to live in Rome, communicating part of their riches to their sons-in-law by way of dowery.

The forces of the Romans being thus increased by the accession of the Sabines, Romulus applied himself to the public administration with all care and policy: He appointed the youth to be always in arms on horseback, that they might be constantly upon their guard, and ready equipped against the surprises of war; that the chief council of the commonwealth should consist of the seniors, who were called fathers for their authority, and senators for their age.

Affairs being thus disposed, one day, when there was a full senate, Romulus being present was on a sudden taken from their sight : Some think he was murdered by conspiracy, and cut into small pieces by the senators ; others say he was poisoned ; but the general report was that he was deified. Julius Proculus was the author of this, who taking notice that there arose a violent tempest at the same instant that Romulus disappeared, and that the sun was just then eclipsed, insinuated to the people that Romulus was become a god ; nay, he took an oath, that he saw him in a much more august form than whilst he was a mortal ; and that Romulus commanded them to adore him for a god, affirming that he was called Quirinus in heaven, and assuring them that Rome should conquer the whole earth.

Numa Pompilius succeeded Romulus, being invited to the kingdom by the Romans, who had a veneration for him on the bare fame of his sanctity and religion : He taught them holy rites and ceremonies, with whatsoever pertained to the worship of the immortal gods ; he divided the year into twelve months, and appointed the holidays ; he ordained the pontiffs, augurs, salii, with other ranks of priests ; he gave them the Ancilia and Palladium, which came down from heaven ; and he instituted the vestal fire ; in a word, he persuaded them, that whatsoever he taught them, he received from the goddess Egeria, and this wrought so efficaciously on the minds of the rude and ignorant people, that they came at length to govern that empire with justice and religion, which they got by robbery and oppression.

Prince of the mustis, I will reserve the rest of the Roman history for another dispatch.

Paris, 9th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1680

XV.—To WILLIAM VOSSEL, a *Recluse of Austria.*

THY last letter appears magisterial and peremptory, like a summons from the inquisition : Thou requirest an account of my faith, and what idea I have of religion, suspecting that I am inclined to heresy. This proceeds from the freedom I formerly took in discoursing against the pope's infallibility, the newly canonised saints, and the doctrine of No salvation out of the Roman church. I see thy zeal makes thee peevish and morose ; indeed it is a grace that soon turns sour, if it be not kept in a clean heart, and a temperate air, free from the vapours of superstition ; however, I am willing to satisfy thy demand as well as I can, and transmit my soul to thee in effigy.

Though we cannot pourtray negatives, yet every picture has its back side, whereon the cunning painter may draw the reverse of his first design, or at least the spectator's imagination may supply the painter's office, and form ideas quite contrary to the original piece. That thou mayest therefore the better comprehend what I am in point of religion and faith, I will first represent what I am not.

Conceive then, that I am no narrow-souled Jew, who confines salvation to the lineage of Jacob, and lays an hereditary claim to heaven, because for the wickedness of his execrable race, he is not allowed to possess a foot of land on earth ; who to strengthen his title, produces the scheme of his genealogy, proving that he descended in a right line from one of those parricides who murdered the Messias, and for that reason avouches, that paradise is entailed to him, among the rest of his brethren, on the score of his forefathers merit.

Neither am I a Christian hypocrite, who mocks himself, and all that see him, with his empty formalities ;

who constantly calls upon Jesus every morning to sanctify his resolution of sinning against God before night ; who tires out the patience of the saints and angels with the crambo of his vain repetitions, his *Ave Marias*, *Ora pro nobis*, and the rest of his religious jargon ; who goes to church that he may get the whip-hand of the devil, and meeting him on holy ground, may whisper treason against God Almighty over his beads, or his prayer-book, as the Germans do against the emperor over their bottle, *sub rosa*, without any observators or tell-tales.

I am no worshipper of images, pictures, old rotten worm-eaten bits of wood, or other pretended relics of Christ and his saints ; I cannot be persuaded that God is well pleased to see me make a fool of myself, and trot up and down in pilgrimage, to honour five or six sham heads of St. John the Baptist, for in so many several places do they pretend to show that one sacred relic, which cannot be multiplied ; neither can I believe the miraculous vegetation, and constant growth of the cross, which they pretend to show whole and entire at Cesarea, whilst it is exhibited also in millions of pieces throughout Christendom, so that there is scarce a Christian gentleman of any quality in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, who does not boast his share of this wonderful relic ; if all which pieces were put together, they would probably make a thousand such crosses as that which is kept in Palestine for the supposed true cross whereon Jesus suffered death, and yet they are all said to be cut off from that.

Indeed, Father William, I have no great stomach to swallow down these great wooden fables ; the very chips are enough to choak me ; but then comes the milk of the blessed virgin to my relief, with which I may rinse my unbelieving throat, almost in every parish or monastic church I come at ; for I dare say there is more of this to



be found in such places, than an Hungarian cow would give in seven years together; but it curdles in my stomach, and makes me sick: The very idea of these child-absurdities is as operative as the draught of an antimonial cup.

It would be too tedious to turn up all the negative side of my religion, and explain in an hundred more particulars what I am not; let us now therefore reverse the tablet, and see what I positively am.

And here I am at a loss for a compendious title or name to give myself, saving that of a Christian; for I know not to what more particular predicament I belong. As for the distinguishing characteristics of Papist, Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist, Socinian, &c. I esteem them no otherwise than the brands of so many religious factions in the church; and the particular title of Roman Catholic looks like a solecism in common sense: I would therefore be taken for a Christian, who neither makes parties, nor sides with any; but, honouring Jesus as our common lord and master, I endeavour to obey his laws peaceably and like a loyal subject.

I lay for a foundation of all my practice toward men, this golden rule which he gave us: "Not to do that to another, which I would not have done to myself." Upon this basis is built the whole fabric of human justice. I endeavour to regulate my own passions, and to bear with those of others; to be angry with myself for the least peccadillo, but to frame excuses for the errors and offences which my neighbour commits. Here rises the superstructure of all virtue, supported by patience, hope, and faith, cemented by charity, meekness, and temperance, and adorned all over with good works.

In a word, Father William, the sum and substance of my religion consists in these few rules: To fear God,

serve my king, honour and obey my parents, love my friends, and to do justice to all men, without troubling myself about empty formalities, and needless ceremonies, or being concerned in what nation, climate, or society of Christians I live, since God regards not one man more than another for these exterior differences.

Reverend monk, adieu ; and from what I have said, conclude me a catholic in the properest sense.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1680.

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#### XVI.—To MURAT BASSA.

THEY are extremely merry here in Paris ; nothing but dancing, singing, roaring, drinking, ringing of bells, making of bonfires and other illuminations, shooting of guns, stirring about squibs, crackers, serpents, rockets, and all manner of gun-powder compositions. If it should hold but two hours longer, I believe they would be in danger of running all mad. This is the hour of midnight, and yet they are in the height of their jollity, which is not customary in these western parts, though no wonder in the East. I wish there were an army of Ottomans near us ; I would give them the signal, and show them the way, when and how to enter the town, and take possession of the richest city in France ; for they suspect nothing, and the very guards themselves are all drunk ; it were an easy thing to surprise them, and take them napping. But there is a time and a chance for all things under the moon, and this is their lucky season.

Wouldst thou know the occasion of all this joy and security ? It is double ; of one side the news comes rolling from Spain of the new queen found there ; and on the other hand they are transported with the marriage of

Monseigneur the Dauphin of France with the Princess Anna Maria Victoire, sister to the Duke of Bavaria.

I mentioned that advances were made in order to this match the latter end of the foregoing year ; the same was completed in all its ceremonies on this very day.

The French king parted from Versailles about the beginning of this moon, with the dauphin his son, to meet the princess : Their first interview was at a place called Vitry. As soon as the dauphiness (for so we must call her now) saw the king alight from his horse, she leaped out of her coach, and threw herself upon her knees ; but he soon raised and embraced her with royal caresses, expressing the mighty joy he felt at this first sight of her, on whom rested the hopes of France for heirs to the crown. Then he presented the dauphin to her, who also was not wanting on his part to discover the sentiments he had for a princess of so great birth, merit, wit, and virtue.

The queen did not see her daughter-in-law till they came to Chalons, and there she caressed her with all tenderness imaginable in outward appearance ; but God knows what is in the hearts of these royal souls, or how long their friendship may last.

The ceremony of the espousals was performed at that town yesterday by the Cardinal of Bouillon, grand almoner of France, in the chapel of the bishop's palace ; and to-day, as I have said, he finished the whole business in the temple of the Virgin Mary, the chief cathedral of this city, in the presence of the king and queen, with divers lords and ladies of the court. There were other bishops to assist him, whose titles I have forgot, but I think they were of Orleans and Condom : This last makes a considerable figure in the kingdom, and is created first almoner to Madam the Dauphiness. He appears very zealous

in converting the huguenots ; and I have a great deal more to say of him than I have time to write now.

Assure thyself that I cherish a profound respect for thee ; and that as I never, was, so I never will be defective or tardy in sending thee thy proportion of western intelligence ; for I must divide it among the bassas and other ministers of the Porte.

Rest contented with thy share, and in the name of God farewell.

Paris, 8th of the 3d moon, of the year 1680.

## B O O K IV.

LETTER I.—*Ta HAMET, Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

By the mosque of Sultan Jub, I swear these petty republics of the Franks are not worth a mussulman's thought ; however, to satisfy thy curious and inquisitive genius, I will say something of each as briefly and compendiously as I can.

In my two last, I discoursed of the United Netherlands, and the Swiss Cantons ; now I will ferry thee over the Lemman Lake, and land thee in Geneva, the mother, nurse, and centre of the Calvinists. These are a sort of protestants, dissenting from the opinions of Luther and his associates, who was the first author of what they call the Reformation here in Europe.

The city of Geneva is very ancient, and was not young in the time of Julius Cæsar, as appears by his Commentaries, where he makes mention of its being seated on the river Rosne, just at the entrance of the Lemman

Lake; it stands very pleasantly, and has a fertile soil round about it, where Ceres strives to outdo Bacchus in her liberalities; for though there be very good vineyards in these parts, yet not in so great plenty as to match the abundance of corn, pulse, hay, oats, melons, and all manner of herbs and fruits that the climate usually bears.

The air is pure and wholesome; the winter is not so cold as in Germany, nor the summer so hot as in some parts of France.

The people are generally corpulent, morose, inhospitable to strangers, especially to those of the Roman church, whom they always suspect as spies; they are very frugal, continent, and sober; and, above all things, they affect a singular gravity in their carriage and garb.

As for riches they can boast but little; and were it not for their art in making silks and printing books, of which infinite quantities and numbers are exported to other nations, this commonwealth could not support its own charges.

Indeed their military strength is considerable for the bigness of the place, the city being fenced by nature as well as art with impregnable fortifications. They keep an exquisite watch on the walls, and at the gates; neither can any foreigner have entrance or lodging there without undergoing a severe scrutiny. They have a magazine in the city, furnished with all sorts of arms, and with every thing that is necessary to sustain a long siege: Add to this, the friendship and patronage of the French kings, who have for many years sheltered this little republic from the invasions and incroachments of the Dukes of Savoy, who claim a title to it.

There were formerly three forts near the town, in the possession of the Savoyards, which much annoyed the

inhabitants, and threatened the ruin of the city itself, with the shot of great brass ordnance, which were placed there for that purpose ; but Henry IV. of France took one from the Duke of Savoy, and demolished it in the year 1600; he also caused another to be pulled down, which equally endamaged the opposite side of the city ; and a third the inhabitants themselves laid even with the ground, being aided by the French.

If thou wouldst know by what title the Dukes of Savoy pretend a right to Geneva, I will tell thee in a few words : In former times there was a feud between the Counts of Geneva and her Bishops about the government, each claiming it as his due : At length a certain bishop procured the principality of Geneva from Frederick I. Emperor of Germany. This occasioned a civil war between him and the Count of Geneva, which lasting many years, and consuming the money and forces of the town, the inhabitants, with the consent of the bishop, implored the protection of the Count of Savoy. He raised an army, and marched against the Count of Geneva, taking many towns and fortresses from him which belonged to the republic ; then he advanced with the army near to the walls of Geneva, more like an enemy than a friend to the bishop and people ; for not content with his new conquests, he demanded as much money as would quit the charges he had been at in this expedition. The bishop represented to him, “ That he ought to be content with those places he had won, and that they should be acknowledged feudatories of Savoy ;” but this did not satisfy the greedy count, who threatened the city if they would not reimburse him with money. The inhabitants being poor, and fearing worse consequences should they provoke this prince too far, at last agreed with him, “ That he should possess as much right in the city as the

Counts of Geneva had done before this war began ;<sup>o</sup> and this was done by way of pledge or mortgage. The Savoyard therefore entering the city with his forces, oppressed the inhabitants with cruel tyranny ; so that being provoked to desperate courses, they conspired together, and chose rather to call back the Count of Geneva to his native possession, from which he had been violently cast out by the usurping bishop, than to submit to a foreign jurisdiction, which began so early to afflict them with insupportable calamities.

But this, instead of a remedy, proved an aggravation of their misfortunes ; for the Count of Geneva coming against him of Savoy with some forces, was overcome in battle, and so Geneva was reduced to greater straits than before ; for the Savoyards entering the houses of the citizens, drew the conspirators from their lurking holes, and killed them, committing a thousand other insolencies against the inhabitants ; nor did this cease till the whole race of the Counts of Geneva was quite extinct. Then Amadeus, the Count of Savoy, finding that still the Bishop of Geneva gave him as much trouble as the counts had done before, obtained of the Emperor Charles IV. to be made vicar of the empire in his provinces, thinking by the greatness of this title and authority to suppress the power of the bishop ; but the ecclesiastic prince so strongly opposed the secular, that he maintained his own jurisdiction, and the liberty of the people, till the time of Amadeus VIII. who was his successor, and the first who was created Duke of Savoy, being afterwards elected to the papacy, which he enjoyed by the name of Felix. Before his assumption to this height of ecclesiastic dignity, he had obtained of Pope Martin the jurisdiction of Geneva in temporal matters ; but he found as much trouble in it as his predecessors had

done before; and so have all his successors to this very day; for, though they boast of the title, yet they have no more authority in the town than the King of Bantam.

This city is governed by a syndic, and twenty-five senators, who meet every day to consult about the affairs of the commonwealth, and to decide all causes, whether criminal or civil.

It is their chief interest to hold a good correspondence with France, without whose protection they would suffer many injuries; therefore the better sort, as it were by way of flattery and complaisance, dress themselves after the French fashions, and make use of that language, though imperfectly, in all their letters and conversation, but the vernacular is the same with that of Savoy.

Accomplished minister, in regard thou complainest of the length of my letters, I will hereafter be more concise, and refresh thee often with brief accounts of the states in Europe yet remaining to be spoke of.

In the mean time, think of doing poor Mahmut some kind office in the divan, for I am macerated with zeal, care, sickness, and old age. Surely I cannot live much longer, or rather I shall not be much longer a-dying; for this mortal life is but death in masquerade.

Paris, 4th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1680.

## II.—To ACHMET BASSA.

SOME maxims of state or religion, which you please, (for they are much one) have moved the King of France to publish a decree, which they call a regulation, whereby he restrains the huguenots from certain liberties and privileges which they enjoyed before.



If thou wouldst know the character of these huguenots, I will give it thee as well as I can, not perfect and full thou mayest swear, but true, as far as it goes.

In the first place, therefore, it is necessary for thee to know, that about two hundred years past, a certain friar, or dervise in our style, named Martin Luther, being offended at his lord and master the Pope or Bishop of Rome, set up for himself, as the only preacher, doctor, reformer, and apostle of that age; he drew abundance of people after him, and not a few princes and nobles; the known scandalous vices of the Roman clergy on one side, and the epidemical inclination which mortals have for novelty on the other, facilitated his innovation. He grew famous in Wirtemberg, Augsburgh, and other parts of Germany where he lived; in a word, his new doctrines were like an earthquake to the whole empire; he staggered many wise and honest men, and overthrew whole thousands of fools and knaves.

Among the rest of the last gang, one Calvin embraced Luther's tenets, a very learned man, and of great abilities, but very partial, revengeful, and austere in his humour: At first he was very zealous and uniform in all things, according to the model of his upstart master, but upon some dispute between them, he takes snuff, flings off the yoke, and revolts from his new director. There have been several such hot-headed sparks since that time, every one aspiring at the character of an apostle or prophecy. Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, Bucer, Beza, and a rabble of other new lights and saviours of the world.

Now the Huguenots, as I am informed, are the disciples of Calvin; so is the commonwealth of Geneva, with some parts of Swisserland, Holland, and the country of the Grisons: As for England, Swedeland, Den-

mark, Norway, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hesse-Cassel, they are all Lutherans, saving that the English, whom I first mentioned, have made twelve several alterations in their religion since the days of Luther.

It is observable of that nation, that they are flexible, and receptive of any foreign impression. The French say, "The English would as soon embrace Mahometanism as any other religion, could ye but once get the length of their foot." This is an English adage. It is certain they are a very mutable, inconstant, rebellious people; they surfeit on the plenty which nature hath given them, which makes them still uneasy, discontented, and delicate; they spew out their own happiness to ease the stomach of that intemperate nation, and prepare it for foreign sham-banquets of magicians: Of old they were brave, and steadfast to their principles; then their renown was spread far and wide; "when a baronet of England (as it is recorded in the histories of France, which must be impartial in this point) killed five-and-twenty Frenchmen, among whom were two marquises, four knights, and nine nobles of the lesser order."

But now they have quite lost their ancient fame and ~~valour~~; they are corrupted with a thousand debaucheries; they are as fickle as the wind, and as moveable as the dust it raises in the streets; in fine, they are nothing at all but the obloquy and scorn of other nations.

But to return to the French huguenots, and Calvin their master: I was once acquainted with a very ancient ~~derfise~~ derfise, or friar, when I first came to Paris, who confidently affirmed, that he had often heard his own father say, "That Calvin, in his presence, once thrust his right hand into the fire, wishing it had been burnt to ashes, when it directed his pen in writing against the real presence of the body of Jesus the Messias, in the sacrament

of the altar ; but since he had written that fatal treatise, he could do no less in honour than defend it to the last." And yet this is one of the cardinal and most important points in controversy between the catholics and the huguenots, whereon the whole body of religion depends, and turns to the right hand or to the left ; so that in the main, the huguenots have no other ground for their separation from the Roman church, than the confessed obstinacy of their ringleader : And I tell thee plainly, they are the disciples of his humour, as well as of his doctrines : There is not such a pertinacious sort of people living, so singular, partial, self-conceited, wilful, and incorrigible. We must always except out of this character some of the gentry, most of the nobles, and all the beaux esprits of that profession, as they call them, that is, the men of sense ; for they despise the bigotry of their brethren, and go to their public assemblies, rather in complaisance to their parents, friends, and kindred, or for the sake of interest, than out of any real regard for a religion of so young a date, so mean and contemptible a figure, and which is shut up within such narrow limits.

They are, in short, so bad, or at least grown so odious at the court, that the king is quite angry with them, and resolved to extirpate them and their new-fangled heresy out of the nation. In order to this, he proceeds gradually, like a politician, being not willing to tempt them to a general revolt, by provoking the whole party at once, and rendering them desperate. No, no ; he is cunninger, than to draw a civil war upon himself and his kingdom, by giving so loud an alarm to a people who are very rich, potent, and whose interest is much interwoven with that of the catholics. I believe, to speak modestly, they are able to keep fifty thousand men of arms in pay, as they can contrive the business among them-

themselves. Therefore knowing that should they profess all, profess all sects religion, and everyone is not to act out as another in defending and propagating it, the king made such a politic decree, as only touches those particular scholars, for ministers, as they call themselves, who are convicted of perverting any catholic to their heresy, whereby also is threatened, so the catholic shall lose, who shall forsake the religion of their fathers, perpetual banishment, the loss of their right hand, which was lifted up in their abjuration, and other grievous penalties.

In the mean time, the bishops and inferior priests are very industrious to confirm the catholics in their native faith and obedience, and to convert the huguenots from their supposed errors: I call them supposed errors, because it is much more to us, that are muslimans and followers of Mahomet, whether one party of the Nazarens be in the right of it or the other, only we must regard the interest of the Ottoman empire. They are all equally heretics and infidels, so long as they are enemies to the messenger of God, the seal of the prophets.

He that is the most vigorous, and takes the greatest pains in converting the huguenots, is the Bishop of Meaux, a man of prodigious eloquence, sense, and wit. This age does not afford his equal, in the perfections of the mind and intellect; he is profoundly learned, a man of universal reading, skilful in most languages, an oracle in philosophy, astronomy, and the most secret science; he is the laurel among the poets, the crown of senators, the very encyclopedia of human knowledge.

It is, true, he is very zealous for the authority and infallible veracity of the Roman church, but he asserts these things with so much grace and moderation, with such a masculine reason, and without the symptoms of a

sincere piety, that I, who regard no one sect of the Franks more than another, cannot but admire the natural abilities and perfections of his soul. He is learned as Abdol Melec Muli Omar at Fez; pious as Hebatolla Mir Argur at Cogni in Natolia; abstinent as Mohammed in Arabia; holy as the abstracted Mirmadolia, santone of the Vale of Sidon; a man every way accomplished, and inspired with divine munificence.

O great bassa, accuse me not for this eulogy of a Christian; but let thou and I, and all true believers, profit by the best examples, wherever, or in whatsoever religion we find them, whether they be giafres or mussulmans.

Paris, 13th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1685.

### III.—*To the Venerable MURTI.*

So long as thou dost not complain of my too frequent letters, I shall not murmur at the pains of writing them. It is a pleasure thus to revolve the histories of past ages: and whilst I with my own hand consign them to paper, they adhere the faster to my memory. I should not be sorry if I were to spend the remainder of my day in epitomising all the authentic records and memoirs that are extant in the world; such an exercise would be a constant relief of melancholy, by lighting abundance of flambeaux and lamps in the soul to disperse the mists and darkness, which naturally make it sad. I ended my last letter with the reign of Numa Pompilius over the Romans, who, as if he had made the kingdom hereditary only to men of virtue; was no sooner dead, but the people elected Tullus Hostilius for their king, in consideration of his excellent endowments and merits.

He instructed the Romans in a more perfect military discipline, and improved the art of war; so that having trained up the youth to a wonderful promptness and skill in arms, he ventured to send a defiance to the Albans, invade their territories, though they were a stout people, and had lorded it a long time in Italy; but when many battles had been fought between them, with equal damage to both sides, at length, to put an end to the war, and make the losses of the vanquished more compendious, they mutually agreed to decide the victory, by a combat of three brothers on one side, against as many on the other. Those on the Roman part were called Horatii, the Alban brothers Curiatii.

The fight was fair and dubious, and had an admirable event; for all the three Curiatii were wounded, and two of the Horatii killed, so that it seemed difficult to determine which had the advantage, one found and untouched Roman, or three faint and weakened Albans. However, the surviving Horatius, not presuming too much on his own strength against such an unequal number of enemies, added policy to his courage, and made use of this stratagem:

He counterfeited a flight, that so he might separate his adversaries, and engage with them singly, one after another, according as they overtook him. His plot took, and he vanquished all three: But he sullied his victory with the blood of his sister, whom at his return he killed, because she met him not with joy and triumph, but with grief and tears for the loss of her spouse, who was one of the three Alban brethren. He was called in question for the bloody fact, but his merit superseded his crime; and the fact, which at another time would have cost him his head, now served but to augment his glory.

Not long after this, there broke out a war between the Romans and the Fidenates, a people of Latium or Tuscany. The Albans, according to their late league, were obliged to aid the Romans in their wars, wherefore they sent auxiliary forces, under the command of Metius Suffetius: But this captain proved treacherous; for just as the two armies were going to enter into battle, he withdrew his Albans to the top of a hill, where they stood neuter, to behold the fortune of the fight, that so they might join the strongest party, which when Tullus perceived, he politicly cried out with a loud voice, in the hearing of both armies, "That Metius had done this by his command." Then the Romans took courage, and their enemies being struck with terror, were soon routed and overcome; after which, the Roman king caused the traitor Metius Suffetius to be tied with cords to two chariots, and torn in pieces by wild horses. He also ruined and quite demolished Alba, not looking on that city now as the parent, but the rival of Rome; however, he first transported to Rome all the riches of Alba, with the inhabitants, that so that city might not seem to perish, but only to remove its situation, and be incorporated with Rome.

Ancus Martius succeeded Tullus Hostilius, being the grandchild of Numa by his daughter: He inherited his qualities also, as well as his blood; he encompassed the city with walls, and joined the banks of Tiber, which ran through the middle of it, with a bridge; he likewise built the port Ostia, just by the mouth of the river, where it flows into the sea, planting there a colony of Romans, as if he had then presaged what afterwards came to pass, that the merchandises of the world should be brought in thither, as into the maritime storehouse of the city destined to conquer all things.

To him succeeded Tarquinius, afterwards surnamed Priscus: He was of foreign extraction, yet obtained the sovereignty by his eloquence and wit; for, being the son of Lucumo, a Cornithian, who abandoned his country, and fled into Tuscany, where he was made king, this Tarquinius, polishing his Greek nature with Italian arts, insinuated so far with the Romans, that they chose him for their king: He augmented the number of senators, and added three hundred soldiers to the troops that were already established, which was all he durst do, in regard Attius Nævius, an augur in high request among the Romans, had forbid any greater number to be added. These augurs were a sort of diviners, who foretold things to come, from the chirping, flying, feeding, and other actions of birds. Tarquinius one day asked this Attius Nævius, "Whether the thing could possibly be done, which he had then thought upon?" The augur, consulting his art, answered, "It might be done." Then said the king, "I was considering whether I could cut this whetstone with a razor." "Yes, you may," replied Attius. And the king did it. From that time, the college of augurs, first founded by Romulus, was held in sacred esteem by the Romans. I should have called them the triumvirate of Augurs, for there were but three at first, one out of every tribe; but Servius Tullius, the next king, added a fourth. These were all nobles. But afterwards they were increased to nine, and last of all to fifteen, in the dictatorship of Sylla.

To return to Tarquinius: He was no less prosperous in war than in peace; for he subdued twelve cities of the Tuscans, with the territories belonging to them; he invented robes, and ensigns of state; the ivory seats of chariots, wherein the senators were carried to the council; the gold rings, and magnificent horse-trappings, which



were given to the Roman knights, as badges of honour; also the purple and scarlet robes; the triumphal chariot of gold; the painted Phrygian robe, worn by a victorious general, when he celebrated a triumph; with many other ornaments and public decorations, to set forth the majesty and grandeur of the Roman state.

Tarquinius being mortally wounded, his wife Tanaquil persuaded the people, that all was well with him; that his wounds were not dangerous; that he was only laid in a slumber; and that in a little time they should see him well again; in the mean while, she said, it was his will and pleasure that they should obey Servius Tullius, a favourite of her's, who would administer justice, and govern the people wisely during the king's illness.

This Servius Tullius was the son of a Prince of Latium, who being killed in a battle with the Romans, his wife was carried captive to Rome, and being presented to Queen Tanaquil, lived free from servitude under her protection; and being with child, was delivered of Servius Tullius in Tanaquil's palace. The queen took a singular fancy to the noble infant, and gave him royal education, presaging from a flame which she saw environing his head, that he would be a famous man in time. It was for this reason she persuaded the people to receive him as the king's substitute or deputy, for a while, not doubting but that after they had tasted the sweetness of his government, and the death of Tarquin should be known, they would easily submit to him as Tarquin's successor. Her stratagem had its desired effect; for Servius Tullius improved his time so well in pleasing the people, that the kingdom, which he obtained by craft, was acknowledged by all as due to his merit and virtues. He first brought the people of Rome under an assessment, whereby every man's estate was valued; he divided them

into classes, wards, and colleges; and the commonwealth was brought into such order, by the exquisite policy of this wise king, that the difference of every man's patrimony, dignity, age, trade, and office, was registered in public tables, which rendered the economy of this great state as regular and easy as that of a private family or house.

The last of all the kings was Tarquinius, surnamed the Proud, for the morose and disdainful haughtiness of his temper. He married the daughter of Servius Tullius, in hopes of succeeding in the kingdom; but he not having patience to wait for the natural death of his father-in-law, hired ruffians to murder him, and then seized upon the kingdom by violence; neither did he govern the state with less wickedness and cruelty, than that by which he obtained it; for he denied burial to his murdered father-in-law, saying, "That he deserved not better usage than Romulus, who perished without a sepulchre." He also slew the chiefs of the nobles whom he suspected to be in Servius's interest. And his wife Tullia was as bad as he; for as soon as she had saluted her husband by the title of king, she caused herself to be driven in a chariot over the dead carcase of her father. Both of them exercised great cruelty, and massacred many of the senators: But the pride of Tarquinius was intolerable to all, till, at length, when he had spent enough of his rage at home, he turned it against his foreign enemies abroad, and took many strong towns in Latium. However, notwithstanding all his vices, he gave the world this proof of his piety, that out of the spoils which he took from his enemies, he raised money, and finished therewith the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, which his father Tarquinius Priscus had begun. The story says, that as they were laying the foundations of this temple, they found the

head of a man, which they interpreted as a good omen, that Rome should be the seat of a vast empire, and mistress of the whole earth, as it afterwards came to pass.

The people of Rome bore with the pride of Tarquin, but would not bear with the lust and tyranny of his sons, one of which ravished Lucretia, a woman of admirable beauty and virtue: The chaste matron expiated the disgrace by stabbing herself; and as she breathed her last, she charged Brutus and Collatinus, two princes, to revenge her cause; wherefore they stirred up the people to assert their liberty, and abrogate the kingly government, which was as readily done as mentioned; and here was an end put to the tyranny of kings.

In my next I will relate the increase and progress of the Roman state, under the government of consuls and emperors, which will comprehend the most memorable events of peace and war, even to the catastrophe of the empire.

Paris, 22<sup>d</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> Moon, of the Year 1680.

IV.—*To ORCHAN CÂRET, Student of the Sciences, and Pensioner to the Sultan.*

ABOUT the soul; that is the thought I am upon, that is the word I am going to write, whether it shall, after the grand divorce from the body, go to heaven or hell, (as they are commonly represented) or whether it shall not rather be more happily or miserably disposed of, or if left, yet at least in a more proportionate order of eternal justice. Methinks I taste and feel the original meaning of the word *Nemesis*, which though it pass for primitive Greek among the most learned of the western scholars, yet I can prove it to be a Phœnician derivative from

the Chinese, and I can demonstrate likewise that it is full of mysteries.

Every syllable of it is sacred and mysterious as the MEVE, ME-NE, TEL-EL; UPHARSIN; of *Belshazzar*; *Numeravit, Numeravit, Appendit, Dissipit*; that is the sense of it; so are words become the Eternal Mind.

The very letters which compose words (I should have said the syllables first, in good manners) are all the products of the mathematics; I mean, of the original science, not of those paltry fragments, scraps, and offals, that are taught in schools and academics; such as the Elements of Euclid, the Rudiments of Algebra, Benazer, Kissud, or any other learned pen. There is something more within the verge of human science than what has been divulged hitherto in the world, or at least more than what is now extant, and has escaped the ruin of fires, floods, earthquakes, and the jaws of all devouring time.

Learned Otchan, I will not be pious, but answer me one question about the soul: Canst thou believe the stories of the priests concerning purgatory, hell, and the two other limbos? hast thou faith enough to swallow the ridiculous figments of the book intitled, *Speculum Exemplorum*, a tract so highly celebrated and magnified among the superstitious Nazarenes of the Roman church? Believe me, these doctrines are the pure effects of anthropomorphism, or the religion of those who represent God under the form of a mortal man; for they, poor souls, are so incapable of rising above this gross and earthly thought, that they even presume to draw and paint the effigies of the Eternal Divinity, which has no figure or resemblance; they portray him like a very old man, with grey hairs on his head and beard, and then they set the idol up in temples to be adored: The rude and ignorant vulgar dare not contradict their guides, whom they reverence as o-

racles ; they bow before the sacred vanity, paying divine honours to the work of human art. Thus superstition and error spread abroad and take firm root in the world ; from hence the duller part of men derive their notions of man's soul.

They cannot conceive how it should subsist after death, without just such a body of flesh and blood as it has in this life ; and yet they contradict that very opinion, by asserting that it cannot have such a body till the general resurrection, whilst at the same time they assert, that it shall enjoy all the pleasures, or suffer all the pains, which none but corporeal beings are capable of. Doubtless the infidels are involved in a labyrinth of heresies.

We mortals know not the state of departed souls, whether they go upwards or downwards, to the east or west, north or south ; we are wholly ignorant of the climates wherein the blessed and the damned are separately disposed of. Perhaps the doctrine of transmigration taught by Pythagoras, Empedocles, and all the eastern Indians, may be true, from which belief few mussulmans do dissent ; or it may be we shall, as the gentile poets wrote mysteriously, fall into Lethe's lake, into the region of forgetfulness, where we shall be as though we had never been. This is the soul's inactive state, if any such there be in nature for an incorporeal spirit ; and then the Millennaries or Chialists among the Christians, may be much in the right of it, who taught the sleep of the soul until the resurrection. Indeed, in my opinion, this life itself, wherein we think ourselves so much awake, to hear, see, taste, smell, feel, and revel in the pleasures of the universe, is but a dream or trance, a grand deliquium of the soul, the universal apoplexy of human nature ; for the true genuine life is only to be found above, in the pure regions of the air, or more refined skies ; or if not there, at least and

lowest rate, in the superlative heights beyond the stars, remote from narrow and polluted matter, where perfect essences do bask eternally in the grand halo of the God-head, or shroud and cool themselves under the shady trees of paradise, whose roots spring from the deep abysses of eternity, and are washed by springs and streams warbling along the verdant banks of sweet chisels, and elegant borders of the groves in Eden.

Such are the pleasures which God, the fountain of munificence, is pleased to treat his creatures with; he studies to regale his favourites with infinite beatitudes.

There are in paradise rivers broad and long as the Danube, Volga, Niger, Nilus, or any other noted current upon earth; their streams run all with honey, wine, and milk, or more delicious liquors, if any such there be.

They are not deep, that timorous men need fear to drown themselves, yet deep enough for foreign earthly souls to swim in everlasting pleasures. Moreover, thou knowest the saying of the prophet, "That we shall have women there, whose beauty no painter's art can ever express, who shall not glance a look upon another man beside their own;" women whose beauty shall exceed the lustre of diamonds, rubies, hyacinths, and whatsoever is precious in the East.

He promises likewise, "That we shall be stretched out at perfect ease on stately beds, under pavilions of magnificent structure;" where pages fair and beautiful as pearls shall wait upon us, whilst gentle zephyrs fan the ambient air with their immortal breezes, making a soft and grateful sound among the leaves and boughs of those tall verdant copses, woods, and thickets, which are planted here and there throughout the fields of paradise.

O Orchan! by all these allegories we are to understand the supreme felicity of virtuous souls, who die in faith.

and love. This is a certain rule, that ~~the~~ whatsoever is pleasant and agreeable to any good man upon earth, shall be either superlatively augmented in specie, or improved by an infinitely more pleasant change in heaven." So that no man that dies well can possibly be baulked of his fill of happiness.

Shall I discourse frankly, and ~~after~~ in the manner of friends? I think, when Atropos has done her business and ours, when she has cut the thread of earthly life, our souls will then awake as from a tedious slumber mixed of joys and griefs, of fears and hopes, pleasures, and pain; and we shall soon experience the truth of all our anxious forecasts; every man shall be disposed of, according to his rank in the heraldry of fate; I will not presume to calculate particularly, where or how; only, in general, this is my faith, that there are paradises of all sorts and degrees prepared with exquisite proportion for the various kinds of good men, and hells as accurately fitted and equally adjusted for the punishment of the wicked, to whatsoever class or order; for it appears to me a grand solecism, a perfect blunder in divinity and reason, to assert or imagine, that as soon as the breath is out of the body, our souls must either swiftly pass through all the elements and orbs above, and in a moment's time be seated in the ætherial empyreum; or else must tumble headlong in an instant to the lowest hell. Methinks, if I were to go upwards, I would tarry by the way, and idly beg myself a while in the upper region of serene and balmy air, there to converse with courteous demons, and perhaps with souls of gentle old philosophers and poets: I would inquire at least for Orpheus, Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan; for Bion, Epictetus, and, by the by, for Sappho. I should be ambitious also to see or hear of Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, and some

other of the Grecian sages ; neither would I forget the name of any renowned wise man of past ages ; for I think the earth has born but few of late that deserve to be mentioned. But above all, I should be diligent and curious to find out the thrice great Hermes, father of wisdom and science. It is ten to one but I should visit Horace, and ask for a bottle of his beloved Champaign Mutcadine, if he has any there.

When I had thus refreshed myself in the paradises of this sublunary world, I would take my congé, and travel to the orb of the moon ; I would kiss the hand of Menarchus who rules all the inhabitants of that planet ; if I found him in a good humour, I would humbly beg his pardon, and intercede for the silly Arcadians, who boasted that their country was older than the moon ; I would represent their case as favourably as I could, putting him in mind that they were only a company of poor ignorant shepherds, who first broached that blasphemous libel, and that their nation is quite extinct on earth ; therefore they are not worthy of his farther revenge or anger, since every Arcadian who had asserted this in his lifetime, has, for his penance, been forced to dig in the mines of the moon from the hour of his death. Perhaps these poor fellows might find the better for my apology, who knows : But, if I found that my request was granted, and these unfortunate Arcadians, being released from the Sub-Cynthian dungeons, were permitted to return to earth again, I would charge them to have a care how they affronted such a potent neighbour next time.

Having done so good a work, I would slip through the orb of Mercury as nimbly as I could, lest that cunning thief should steal the teeth out of my head ; and just paying my respects to Lady Venus *en passant*, I would shut my eyes, and glide in a trice through the scorching



lonia, Zante, Cerigo, with many more of less note; not to speak of Candia, so well known to the mussulmans.

From all these territories the republic has an yearly income of two millions in gold, which is not treasured up for any long time, but is employed in the public expences, as in maintaining military forces by sea and land, in building and rigging up their fleets, in raising and repairing forts and castles, in paying the stipends of magistrates and public ministers, with other expences too tedious to be named.

They have other ways to raise money in extraordinary cases, as in time of war, or the like; for then they double or treble the taxes, and tythes, and imports; and all are liable to answer the demands of the republic, the noble as well as the vulgar. Neither do they seem unwilling, when the extreme necessities of the state require it; but, if this be not sufficient to defray the public charges, then the magistrates and public ministers are obliged to wait for their salaries and stipends till the commonwealth is in a condition to pay them. They also at such a time are used to sell the places of great trust and honour to the nobles, who at other times enjoy them gratis, as a reward of their merits.

If all this will not do the business, and they find themselves reduced to great extremities, then they borrow of private persons such sums as they want, on the public faith; and if any wealthy citizen refuse, or appear unwilling to lend his money, they use force and violence, seizing his goods, whether moveable or immoveable, and sell them for ready money. At the same time, the republic declares herself debtor to those men, and pawns her faith to pay them, with interest, after a certain number of years, or when the war is finished, according as she is able; and that which is most admirable is, that all

this is done without the least tumult or sedition, or any exterior symptoms of discontent ; nay, this people are so prompt and ready to assist the state in such exigencies, that it is common for many of the nobles and wealthy citizens, to make a voluntary tender of their money to the senate ; and some will sell their plate, of their own accord, with all their wives jewels and other ornaments, turning them into money, for the service of the commonwealth.

Besides, not only the inhabitants of Venice contribute to the public treasury, but also the other cities and towns under their jurisdiction, each according to their ability ; therefore it matters not much whether the republic have any bank of money by her or no, since her private subjects are rich enough, and she can make use of their wealth without any difficulty, or ill consequence, whenever she has occasion.

As for the strength and military forces of the Venetians, it may be said that there is scarce a prince in Europe who has better and larger fortifications than this republic ; to defend which, and all her other possessions, she makes use of the inhabitants, every province being obliged to furnish so many thousand soldiers as are sufficient to fill the garrisons, and guard the country from foreign invasion. Thus, in the province of Lombardy alone, there are twenty-five thousand foot kept constantly in arms ; besides these, in time of war they raise extraordinary armies, both in their own territories, and in Germany, or among the Swiss Cantons ; from which last, they generally have an aid of thirty or five-and-thirty thousand mercenaries, who are partly bestowed on board their fleet, and partly in their forts and castles, whilst some of them guard the bridges, and other passes of the country. As for the cavalry of this commonwealth, it

is very small and inconsiderable for their number; but being most of them the sons of nobles, they are valued for their blood, which inspires them with heroic resolution and bravery.

When they are to wage war by land, they usually invite some foreign petty prince to be generalissimo of their armies: him they endear with most ample gifts and honours, giving him two senators for his colleagues, men who have been signally faithful and serviceable to the commonwealth; these are called provveditors, or supervisors-general, without whose consent and approbation the generalissimo cannot give battle, or do any thing else of moment, from which the commonwealth may receive profit or damage.

I forbear to speak of the arsenal of Venice, which is one of the wonders of the world, in regard I have already given a description of it to the ministers of the Porte in one of my former letters, which thou wilt find registered.

Illustrious scribe, I aim at brevity in all my dispatches that I may not weary out thy patience; but sometime my subject carries me beyond my limits, otherwise I should be forced to conclude some of my letters in the midst of a relation, which in my opinion looks like a breach.

Therefore to avoid this solecism, I must not close up my dispatch till I have given thee an account what rites and ceremonies are used in electing the Dukes of Venice which take as follow:

The day of election being appointed, all the Venetian senators that are thirty years of age, meet together in the palace, where the gates being shut, an urn or chest is placed in the middle of the assembly, into which as ~~there~~ as many little balls as there be senators present

these balls are of two colours, for thirty of them are gilt, the rest are white : Every one of the senators takes a ball out of the urn ; those who get the thirty gilt ones are carried into another conclave, whilst those who have the white ones remain in the same place. In the second conclave is also placed an urn, into which thirty balls are cast ; among which nine are gilt, the rest white : Those who get the nine gilt ones, name forty men, who are called Electors of the First Election ; these forty men, throw into the urn forty balls, of which twelve are gilt, the rest white : those who get the twelve gilt balls are called Electors of the Second Election, for they name five-and-twenty other men : These five-and-twenty throw into the urn five-and-twenty balls, of which nine are gilt, and they who get them are called Electors of the Third Election ; for these name one-and-forty men, in whose power it is to create a duke or prince of the republic : And they do it after this manner :

They choose from among themselves three senators more venerable than the rest, whom they call the Chiefs of the Congregation, and two secretaries ; then there remain six-and-thirty, who give in their votes after this manner :

The three chiefs sit in so many seats, more eminent than the rest ; then the secretaries call the six-and-thirty others in order before them, where every one throws into a box, in presence of the chiefs, a little piece of wood, on which is written the name of him whom he would have to be duke ; then every one of the six-and-thirty retires to his place, whilst the secretaries read the schedules before the chiefs ; and as many as they find there named for dukes, so many new schedules do they make : These are thrown promiscuously into a cap, or bonnet ; from whence, after a shake or two to mingle them,

they are drawn out, and laid in order on a table; but before they draw them all out; the first schedule is read, and he whose name is written on it, is bid to go into the next conclave; then the Chiefs of the Congregation, as they are called, ask the rest, if any body there can object against the election of this man? for if they can, and he does not give a satisfactory answer, he is excluded from all possibility of being duke; but if he acquits himself well, he is acknowledged, and has the ducal crown put on his head. The present Duke of Venice is the hundred and \* \* \* \* \* inclusively, from ~~Nativity~~ Augustus, the first that ever had that honour; being elected in the city Heraclea, in the year 697 of the Christians hegira.

The Venetians are, in all their actions, very grave, using few words, especially when they are at table. If they are not so lively and inventive as some other people of Italy, yet they perform all things with mature deliberation and judgment; which is the cause that their affairs for the most part succeed very happily.

The Italians have a common by-word current among them, that the Venetians are magnificent, crafty, and discreet; those of Verona are studious and faithful; those of Padua light and fickle; those of Vicenza revengeful. Again, they say, the Venetians bring money, Terviso swords, and Brixia pioneers to the wars; and that the Venetians are good seamen, the Paduans good horsemen, and those of Bergamo excellent at an ambush.

Of the women they have another proverb, that those of Crema are fraudulent; they of Vicenza constant; they of Venice proud and insolent; they of Verona gracious; those of Brixia diligent; those of Terviso jealous; and those of Bergamo crafty. They say likewise, that Bergamo has many slanderers; Padua many good soldiers;

Vicenza many counts; and Brixia many obdurate misers.

Courteous minister, thou wilt bear, I hope, with my tediousness in discoursing of this great republic, which cannot be handled in a few words.

As to the manner of their government, it is admirably mild and gentle, wise and just; seeking peace, but not refusing war, when they have a just provocation. It is worthy of any man's consideration, how this commonwealth has stood firm and unshaken for above twelve hundred years, amidst so many cruel wars, and potent enemies; that her subjects, if they be compared with others, may be said to enjoy the golden age, since they live in continual ease and tranquillity, increasing daily in riches, honours, and every kind of prosperity.

This is to be ascribed, in the first place, to the most excellent laws and rules of policy, left them by men of singular prudence and wisdom, who, had they lived in the times of the ancient Greeks, might well have been listed among the most famous philosophers and law-givers.

The duke, in the gravity of his port, the splendour of his robes, and the magnificence of his palace, seems to exhibit the majesty of an emperor; and yet he has no more authority than any one of the senators who created him, for he has but one vote in the senate, as all the nobles have; only it lies upon him to give audience to foreign ambassadors, in the name of the senate. He can do nothing without the consent of the senate, either in peace or war. The senate first decrees, and he confirms their edicts, which are also published in his name. It is lawful for him to go into all the courts of justice, and public tribunals; where he may pass his verdict in any du:

bious case ; yet so as any of the senators may contradict him if they please.

The form of government, therefore, in this republic appears to be an aristocracy, or the government of a few ; not the richest, or the most powerful, but the wisest and the best ; such as by a long series of faithful services have merited well of the commonwealth.

These make up the college, or council of ten ; which being joined with fifteen others, and six counsellors, the duke being president, has power of deliberating and decreeing things tending to the safety of the commonwealth ; neither can these decrees be repealed. This is properly the divan, or privy council. There is besides this a council, or diet, of two hundred and twenty-five citizens, who are properly called senators, and very much resemble those of ancient Rome ; for none are permitted to enter this senate but nobles, or the sons of such ; they must also be above five-and-twenty years of age. The third and last senate consists of two thousand five hundred men ; but in regard a great part of these have some offices and honours abroad, they seldom meet above a thousand or hundred when the house is fullest.

These meet once every week, that is, on the first day, as also on some of their more solemn festivals ; here magistrates are created, and public offices distributed with admirable order ; from hence are chosen the two hundred and twenty-five, who make up the foregoing senate, as being the most prudent, expert, and conversant in the affairs of state ; these decide all controversies of greater moment, as the affairs of peace and war, the care of fortifying their cities and castles, of creating generals and captains, of sending embassies to foreign princes ; here also are read all the letters, dispatches, and expresses, which are addressed to the republic from other parts ; in

a word, whatsoever is of more material consideration is handled in this senate.

Impartial essendi, thou wilt not condemn me as an infidel, or an enemy of the mussulmans, in that I represent to thee, in its true colours, the present state of Venice : If we ought to give the devil his due, as the Christians say, in God's name let us not rob men of theirs, though they be our enemies.

Magnificent and learned Hamet, adieu for this time.

Paris, 4th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1680.

VI.—To OSMAN ADROONETH, *Astrologer in Ordinary to the Sultan.*

THE inhabitants of these western parts are in a great and general consternation at the appearance of a new comet, or blazing star; it rises much about the time the sun sets, and in the same quarter of the heavens; the body of it looks no bigger than a star of the first magnitude, from whence springs a pyramid of light, extending itself to the cusp of the mid heaven, where its cone seems to terminate.

The superstitious call it the sword of God, because of its form, being not much unlike an old two-edged rapier; I am sure it does not resemble a Turkish scimeter, for those, thou knowest, are oblique in their figure, and this is straight.

They are full of melancholy presages; and the astrologers themselves give out that this comet portends dreadful calamities to Europe, which may not discover themselves perhaps these many years; nay, they affirm, That this generation shall be quite extinct, before the



effects of this tremendous apparition shall seize on the birth."

I have a great veneration for the science of the stars, and even for judicial astrology, though I cannot pretend to any skill in any of them; I have studied them both till I was weary, being discouraged by the difference of men's opinions, and the uncertainty of their conclusions, in matters of so remote, sublime, and mysterious a nature; besides, I fainted under the burden of such vast speculations, whilst I found myself still wandering, not only in the blindness of my own proper intellect, but also in the general darkness of human reason.

I considered the birth place of these sciences, which all will confess to be the East, and there I found the Chaldeans differing from the Gymnosophists of India, these again contradicting my countrymen the Arabians: To pass from thence into Africa, I perceived the Egyptians were of one sentiment, the Ethiopians of another, and the Moors of a third; neither could I discern any agreement between the Greeks and Romans; as for the Jews, they clashed with all.

Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Avicenna, and many other sages, assert there are but eight spheres; yet Hermes Trismegistus, with some of the Persian magi, added a ninth; so did Axarehel the Moor, and his countryman Tebrith; of the same opinion was Albert the Great; whilst there are some who tax these with making a decimation in the orbs, and taking a tythe from heaven, for they assert the number of the spheres to be ten.

They not only thus differ from one another, but through that inconstancy which is inseparable from the minds of mortals, they vary even from themselves, one day of one opinion, the next of a contrary; so Alphon-

his one while asserted nine spheres, and a few years after retrenched himself to eight. This is a vanity from which the greatest and most eminent writers in the world have not been free; indeed, this mutability of opinion is natural to all men, as if our minds were subject to the laws of generation and corruption, like our bodies, or as if there were a continual flux and reflux of our thoughts, as there is of our corporeal atoms.

These authors not only vary about the number of the celestial orbs, but also concerning their motion, especially that of the eighth, which is called the sphere of the fixed stars; for the Chaldeans and Egyptians held it had but one motion, others affirmed it had more; the Talmudists assign it two, whilst some modern astronomers among the Christians are more liberal, and allow it three distinct motions; one of Trepidation, as they call it; and this is its own proper course, which it performs, they say, in seven thousand years; a second of Giration, which it derives from the ninth sphere, as one wheel is rolled about by another; and this circuit, according to their opinion, is not finished in less than forty-nine thousand years, and if that be true, we must not expect the dissolution of the world before that term is expired; for it would be impious to suppose that the Eternal Architect having made this sphere for a circuit of so long a duration, would stop its career, or by that time it had accomplished a sixth part of its revolution as the Jews and Christians believe: The third motion of this sphere is called rapid and diurnal, for which they say it is obliged to the tenth orb, or *primum mobile*.

Then again they differ in the measure of the time they allow for the motion of the fixed stars, one will have them to spend an hundred years in travelling one degree;

another brings them to this station in sixty-six years; a third in seventy-five; a fourth in seventy-eight; the Jews in seventy; the Christians in eighty; whilst the Indians go beyond them all, asserting that there are two stars in the eight sphere diametrically opposite to each other, which do not supply each other's place in the zodiac in less than an hundred and forty-four thousand years: They affirm also there are many motions of the spheres above, which are yet unknown to mortals.

If this be so, there may be, for ought we know, other stars and bodies also, to which these motions may agree, though we cannot discern either the one or the other, because of the superlative vastness of the height, and the imperfection of human art; of this opinion were Alptrag, Phavorinus the philosopher, and others.

By all that I have said, I do not pretend to instruct thee in things whereof thou wert ignorant: I know thee, by general fame, and the character of men of judgment, to be an accomplished master in this mysterious science; but I reflect thus on the inconstancy and doubtfulness of men's reason in these matters, as an introduction to the liberty I will take of telling thee once again my own thoughts concerning comets, which first suggested the trouble I now give thee in this letter, as I did once before on the like occasion.

Suffer me to be a little prolix and tedious, for these speculations are strong, and not handled with ease, or in a few words. I would fain see the astronomer that has been in heaven, and can give me an account what is the true motion of the planet Mars, or that has discovered the exact ingress of the sun into the equinoctial points; let him also reveal to me the nature of the galaxy, and what substances or qualities they are which compose the milky way: These are subjects which have puzzled all

antiquity, and the wisest of these modern times are as much to seek as their fathers. O fatal darkness of this mortal state ! what mists of ignorance and error are our minds enveloped with ? We are perpetually bewildered in a labyrinth and circle of scepticisms and ambiguities : The sun by day discloses to us the outward features and lineaments of these lower elements ; the moon and stars are not backward to show us the face of the heavens by night, unless sometimes the envious spirits of the air draw a veil of thick black clouds before the lovely picture, and leave us all in darkness : But fate has hidden from us the interior parts of heaven and earth, and all the other beings in the universe.

Among the rest, I cannot but conceive we are strangely mistaken in the nature of these comets ; for if they are only certain heaps of inflammable matter, kindled in the air by the force of the sun-beams, or by some other influence of nature, how come they to have so regular and distinct a motion of their own ? how come they to rise and set at certain hours every day and night, varying only as the heavenly bodies do, in appearing earlier or later one day than another, according to the successive alteration of the four seasons of the year, that so they may pass, like them, through all the signs of the zodiac ? If the earth moves, and these comets be in the air, they must needs be carried round with the motion of the whole vortex ; but it is apparent to human sight, that they are not thus whirled round with the atmosphere, but have a distinct, and sometimes a quite contrary motion ; they are static, direct, and retrograde, like the planets, which is almost a demonstration that their seat is in the heavens, at least above the intersecting orb of the moon ; and if so, I should be glad to have an account of their generation and original ; for the substance of the heavens being immuta-

ble, and not subject to any change or corruption, it is impossible that any new posthumous being can be generated there. There may, I believe, in every age, be disclosed and uncabined some glittering forms in the heavens, which before lay hid and locked up in the treasures of the Most High; but they are as old as the world itself: That is my creed; let other men think what they please.

If I could wonder at any thing, it would be at the mistaken pecty of those, who, to avoid the Charybdis of atheism, which attributes all things to nature or chance, fall into the Scylla of fanaticism and religious dotage, whilst they vainly assert, that every new alteration in the world is an effect of God's immediate creative power. Not a child is conceived, but God then and there creates a soul for it; not a plague, fire, pestilence, or any other common calamity happens, but they must disturb the rest of the Eternal Deity, and make him have a particular chief hand in the conspiracy; so of comets they presage tremendous things, as if God had immediately created them to warn this lower world of some approaching judgments; whereas, according to the dictates of more impartial reason, they are the products of his first fiat, when he made the universe, only he has reserved the revelation of them to certain periods of time. But these sort of people affront God really, for fear of affronting him; they injure his goodness, to save his omnipotence; and, by a back-blow they strike at both, in defence of his supposed arbitrary will. "Let not my soul sit down in their cabala, nor my mind listen to the secrets of their divinity."

O sage Osman, I believe that all things flow from God by an emanation without beginning, and subsist on him by a dependence which shall know no end; with him the causes of all fleeting and decaying things have a permanent stability; in him reside immutable springs of what-

soever is subject to change ; in his eternal essence do live the principles and models of all beings ; but he is no daily labourer ; it is a grand contempt of the Divine Majesty, thus to invade the rest and sabbatism of the Most High, who dwells for ever in infinite and eternal solitude and bliss, to make him the drudge of his creatures, who has ten thousand thousand myriads of angels to execute his will.

Undoubtedly he has contrived the universe with such ineffable art, that his whole pleasure is performed by second causes : This infinite machine is full of wheels, and has an eternal motion, whereof he is the original spring. If I may descend to so low a comparison, observe but the course of a miller ; when once he has turned the cog of his mill, he has no more to do but stand still and look on ; the work goes forward of itself without any more of his labour till he stop it ; so the Supreme Artist, when he had once set the primum mobile a-going, had no more to do but to enjoy himself in eternal beatitude.

It is an indignity to the omnipotent God, to say or think he was not able to make a world as perfect as a mortal man can frame the imagination of. Now I think it is very easy to conceive, that as a hand-mill, which continually requires the attendance of somebody to keep it in motion, has less of artifice in it than a water or a wind-mill, which go of themselves ; so a world, that must always have its maker slaving and drudging, toiling and moiling at the product of every individual generation and corruption of every new event, or what appears to us he so, is not so excellent and perfect, as one that can perform its own task by the necessary force which one contiguous atom has upon another, like wheels upon wheels.

To conclude all ; undoubtedly the works of God are most perfect and full of wisdom ; he made all things from

eternity, and they obey his law ; he has appointed the times and seasons of good and evil, the symptoms whereof appear to mankind in various manners ; in dreams and visions by night, in ominous accidents by day, in prophecies and general whispers, in apparitions, spectres, and monstrous forms, in heaven, and all the elements ; finally, in comets.

But, oh learned Adrooneth ! does it therefore follow, that these signs, these apparitions, these comets, &c. are freshly created for the sake of mankind ? Are there not various ends and uses of all things ? Are there not the fixed stars, and the planets, according to their different configurations and aspects, signs of good and evil, as well as comets ? and are not the stars as old as the world ? Why may not the comets be so too, though they are revealed at certain stated periods of time ?

There is one comprehensive reason for all, in that double query, and I will say no more to the sage Adrooneth, for whom a word is sufficient.

I pray Heaven divert from thee the influence of evil stars ; and that whilst thou contemplest their order, motion, and efficacy, thou mayest not tumble into a ditch, as did Anaximenes, and Thales the Milesian astrologer. Adieu.

Paris, 9th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1681.

VII.—*To the Venerable MUFTI.*

THE people of Rome having abolished the government of kings, transferred the sovereignty on Brutus and Collatinus, the champions of their liberty, altering both their right and title ; for they called them consuls, not kings, and ordained that their power should last but a year, which

being expired, new ones were elected in their stead: And the reason why they had two, was, that if one proved guilty of evil administration, injustice, or tyranny, the other, having equal power, might curb him, and rectify the public affairs. They were also called consuls, to put them in mind that they were to do nothing arbitrarily, but in all things of importance to consult their fellow-citizens.

So great was the joy of the Romans upon this recovery of their freedom, that they could scarce believe it was true, but as it usually falls out in any surprising happiness, all seemed as a dream; and so inveterate was their aversion for kings, that they expelled Collatinus from the city, only because he was nephew to Tarquin the Proud, whose name also he bore. Valerius Publicola was substituted in his stead, a man singularly devoted to the public good; he owned himself the creature of the people, and gave power of appealing from him to them; and lest he might offend them by the lofty building of his house, which also standing on a rock, seemed strong as a castle, he pulled down the upper storeys, and made it level with ordinary houses.

Brutus his colleague was no less studious than he to gain the favour of the citizens, even with the destruction and slaughter of his own children; for when he perceived his sons conspiring to restore the abrogated monarchy, he brought them forth into the forum, or market-place, and having caused them to be scourged with rods, he beheaded them; thus demonstrating, that, as a parent of the people, he adopted them in the room of his perfidious children.

The Romans being from this time made perfectly free, first took arms in defence of their new-gotten liberty, against the neighbouring kings, next for the bounds of



their dominions, then for their confederates, and last of all for glory and empire, being on every side invaded and molested by the adjacent people ; for they had no territories but within the walls of their city ; so that they were no sooner out of the gates, but they were exposed to the Tuscans and Latins, between whom the city was seated as it were in the middle ; therefore, resolving to enlarge their territories, they took one city and province after another, till at length they became masters of all Italy.

Their first expedition was against Porfenna, King of the Tuscans, who took the field with a great army, having the Tarquins along with him, whom he undertook to re-establish in the throne of their fathers ; he made fierce and resolute advances, possessing himself of the hill Janiculum, and the avenues of the city, where he besieged them close, and pressed them with famine ; yet the Romans sustained all with admirable bravery ; and their stout resistance had this effect, that at length Porfenna, when he had almost vanquished them, made a league of peace. He was chiefly moved to this by those prodigies and miracles of Roman fortitude, Horatius Cocles, Mutius Scævola, and Clelia ; the first of which, when he was not able alone to keep off the unequal throng of his enemies every where crowding on him, at length broke down the bridge, and swam across the Tiber with his weapons in hand ; the second attempting to kill Porfenna in his own camp, when by mistake he had, instead of the king, stabbed his visier or secretary, and for that fact was seized, he thrust his right-hand, that was guilty of the error, into the fire, saying, with a menacing voice, “ Think not thyself the safer, O king, because thou hast escaped my hand, since there yet remain three hundred Romans who have all sworn to make the same attempt.” Porfenna

trampled, and was astonished at the boldness of the man, whilst Mutius stood still, undaunted, with his hand broiling in the fire, as a demonstration of his invincible constancy, and of the truth of what he affirmed. Thus did those two famous men behave themselves; and as if a glorious envy had fermented the virtue of the female sex, a certain noble virgin, called Clelia, who was given in hostage to King Porfenna, escaped her guards by night, and mounting a horse which she found in the way, swam over the Tiber on him. Porfenna, as if he were terrified at the fortune and stupendous resolution of the Romans, consented to a peace; but the Latins would not let them rest so, for they also attempted to restore the Tarquins, not so much in love to them, as out of spite to the inhabitants of Rome, being desirous to see that people at least subjugated at home, who lorded it so abroad: There was a bloody fight between them; and the same goes, that two gods, Castor and Pollux, were present on white horses, as spectators of the combat; wherefore, after the Romans had gotten the victory, they built a temple to these warlike deities, as stipend or reward to their champions. And thus far they fought for liberty, which having successfully asserted and established, they were involved in fresh wars about the confines of their dominion.

It would be too tedious to rehearse the various battles and encounters between them and the neighbouring nations, wherein at last they always got the victory, and extended the limits of their empire far and wide; such also, and so prodigious were the actions, exploits, and hardy performances of this stout people, that when King Pyrrhus considered it, he broke forth into this exclamation: "How easy were it (said he) to obtain the empire of the world, were Pyrrhus King of the Romans, or the Romans soldiers to Pyrrhus!"

Yet as fast as this victorious people enlarged their territories abroad, so did their seditions and tumults increase at home, raised by the ambition of some, and the discontent of others, till at length they had entirely subdued all Italy to their obedience ; in which enterprise they spent five hundred years, before they brought it to perfection :

Then, like a fire which devours all the wood it meets in its way, till its fury be stopped by the intercourse of some river, so the Romans ceased not to conquer to the very shores of Italy ; but when they considered Sicily as a most rich and plentiful island, only rent, as it were, by some injurious stroke of time, or fate, or chance, from their continent, they resolved to unite these again by arms and war, which could not be joined together by bridges or piers ; and a very favourable opportunity presented itself to them for this purpose, whilst the confederated people of Messina, the chief mart of that island, complained of the tyranny practised by the Carthaginians.

At that time Rome and Carthage were emulous of each other, both equally rivals for Sicily and the empire of the world ; therefore, under a mask of helping their friends and allies, the Romans betook themselves to the sea, but with real design to enrich themselves with booty, and adding this island to their empire ; whilst the Carthaginians appeared like open enemies and pirates, without any disguise. These having lost their fleets in various conflicts, their fate yielding to that of Rome, the Romans made Sicily a tributary province, and then reduced Sardinia and Corsica. Thus, having expelled the Carthaginians out of all the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, there remained nothing for them to conquer on that side but Africa itself, where also they landed, and took above three hundred places of strength in a short time, though they were stoutly opposed, not only by men, but also by monsters ;

in a certain stupendous great serpent, an hundred and twenty feet in length, annoyed their camp very much, near the river Bragada, as if this dreadful beast had come into the world on purpose to be the champion of its native country, and defend or revenge oppressed Afric : But Regulus, whose victorious arms neither men, nor monsters, nor fate, could hitherto resist, made no stop, till he came with his army before the walls of Carthage itself, the root of all this war. Here fortune began to fall off from him, and prove his enemy, yet so as only to give an occasion for the Roman virtue to appear more illustrious ; for though by the good conduct of Xantippus the Lacedemonian general, thirty thousand Romans were killed in one fight, and Regulus himself taken prisoner, yet so great a misfortune could not make him lose himself, or sink into any passion beneath the constancy and fortitude of an invincible hero. The Carthaginians sent him as their ambassador to the senate of Rome, to propose a peace, and the exchange of captives ; but he was of a contrary sentiment, and dissuaded the senators from hearkening to any such overtures, choosing rather bravely to return to his former captivity, there to be crucified, than be instrumental in word or deed to the least dishonour or disadvantage of his country ; so that though vanquished, he yet seemed to triumph over his conquerors ; and his lamented fate had this influence on the Romans, that it made them prosecute the war with more fierceness and ardour, to revenge the blood of Regulus, than in hopes of conquest ; so deep are the impressions of love which a good general, living or dead, makes in the hearts of his soldiers. Thus the war was renewed again in Sicily, wherein the Romans came off conquerors ; and as an evidence of the greatness of their victory, they showed an hundred and twenty elephants taken from the enemy in the field, which would

have been a great prey had they been taken in ~~hand~~, but now served only as a trophy of a more expensive conquest. This victory was obtained in the consulship of Metellus, which was followed by a terrible overthrow at sea in that of Appius Claudius, when the Romans seemed not so much overcome by their enemies, as by the profaneness of their general, or the divine vengeance ; for he consulting the augurs before he began the engagement, chickens were let out of their coops, to observe the wished-for tripudiation of the corn they were to feed on ; but when the oraculous birds would not taste a grain, the general, disgusted at the fatal omen, commanded them to be drowned in the sea, saying with an impious jest, " Since they will not eat, let them drink their fill." In the same place was the Roman navy sunk and destroyed.

There were many such encounters as these between them, for the space of four-and twenty years and upwards, even till the consulship of Lutatius Catulus, when the enemy seemed not to advance with a fleet of ships, well manned and rigged with all necessaries, but all Carthage appeared upon the sea, with the woods and forests round about it. This proved its ruin ; for they were too heavy for service, whereas the Roman navy was light and expeditious, like a moving camp in the sea ; in a word, they set upon the Carthaginians so furiously, and shattered their vessels with such speed, that all the sea between Sardinia and Sicily was covered with the dismal wrecks ; and this victory was so great, that they had no farther thoughts of sailing to Afric, and razing the walls of their enemies, that being counted needless, since Carthage was now extinguished in the sea.

After this war was finished, the Romans enjoyed a short rest, as it were to breathe themselves ; and as a demonstration of peace, the temple of Janus was shut up, it hav-

ing been constantly open before, from the reign of Numa Pompilius; and this distinction was the public emblem of peace or war.

Thou wilt not have patience to read their wars with the Ligurians, Gauls, Illyrians, Macedonians, Syrians, Germans,\*Spaniards, and, in fine, with the most potent nations on earth; it will be as irksome to be detained with a rehearsal of their domestic seditions, and changes of government; suffice it to say, that this people grew worse by the increase of their empire; and after they had subverted Carthage, Corinth, Numantia, and other famous cities of Europe, Asia, and Afric; after they had subdued Gaul, Thrace, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Britain, and many other most rich and opulent provinces abroad, they began to make wars among themselves; their former virtues turned into vices; the seditions, conspiracies, and emulations of the Triumviri, the Tribunes, of Cataline, Marius, Sylla, Anthony, Pompey, and a thousand other popular commotions, helped towards the confusion of this empire, which seemed to be the support of all things.

Most divine of the successors of the prophets, this vast empire is now become but as a shattered skeleton of an ancient Rome, and most of the exterior members are fallen to the share of the all-conquering Ottomans. God perpetuate the victories of true believers, and yet grant that their conquests may not outlast their virtues.

Paris, 8th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1681.

#### VIII.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

I AM as waggish as a janizary that has newly received his aspers; there is more satire in me at this time than

there was in Juvenal and Persius, and yet it is ~~only the~~ dregs of what I have vented on some learned bigots here in Paris, with whom I have been drinking these two or three hours; I tell thee plainly, I put off the mussulman for a while, and took my glasses frankly, or like a Nazarene.

The discourse we were upon was astrology and the nature of comets, &c.; but God tumble me headlong into the lap of Tagot, if ever I heard such blockheads, dunces, fools, sots; I know not what to call them properly. Zounds! how can human reason be so debauched? How can man become such an insensible piece of stuff, to think as they do? They made me blush for shame or anger; they made me sorry that I was a man to be ranked in the same list with them; however, I suppressed my boiling choler; I bit my lips and nails, and did every thing that patience could suggest, for I use to be a very boon companion in my wine; but at length, as it is the fate of all disputers, we grew too hot; there was such a tempest of words and passionate expressions, that we could hardly find a grain of sense; at last we fell from words to blows, and I, though old and crazy, held up my head as well as I could.

Thou wilt believe, at this age, I have no great strength; but I tell thee my courage is the same as when I was but five-and-twenty; I cannot flinch from provoking dangers, and when I am thoroughly inflamed with wrath, death itself appears to me in the same figure which painters give it, a mere naked skeleton, which I have more reason to pity than fear; if I am afraid of any thing, it is of breaking its bones, and spoiling its shape, in the clash of my fury; so tender am I even of death itself, the obdurate and inexorable destroyer of all mankind.

One of the company, that was a priest, and sat right over against me at the table, threw his four-cornered cap at my head, whilst his next neighbour checked him for his insolence; but he was full of fat, and empty of reason or civility; a great hulking fellow, that makes a figure like the statue of Pont Ginello, at Catanea in Sicily, only he is a little taller; but he has a swinging tun of a carcase.

After he had abused me thus, he swore, "If he had the chalice of the altar in his hand, he would do the same thing; nay, if he had the consecrated wine in it, he would turn the blood of Christ into poison, as he could turn wine into blood, to be revenged of me."

There was by good chance an Armenian or two in the company, (not any of Solyman's gang) who took him up upon his menace; they challenged him severely to answer his words before the Archbishop of Paris; but the cunning priest had more wit in his anger; when he began to reflect on the bad consequences of a summons, he crouched, wheedled, and fawned like a spaniel; so fearful are they of a spiritual court, which is almost as bad in France as the Inquisition in Spain.

Then there was a captain, an old *miles emeritus*, a pensioner, who having not drunk such a quantity of wine many a day, took my part because he sat on my side of the table, for he never saw me before in his life-time, as I know of; however, the old gentleman showed himself stout, and demonstrated that he would stand a push for souls; but there was nobody would oppose him, save myself, and I did it *in verbo clerici*, not *manu* or *ense militis*, God knows. I prayed the good old man to be pacified; I laid my right hand to my breast, and heaved both that and the other joined to heaven; I invoked all the patriarchs and prophets; I bawled at the saints and angels; I summoned God Almighty himself to appear in my



vindication ; but nothing would do save downright fighting.

To it we went pell-mell ; the fellows on the other side of the table were eager ; nothing would satisfy them but blood ; their rapiers were drawn ; and they were upon the pass, when I started up, and cried out aloud, “ Gentlemen, it is the wrong minute for ye to fight in ; Mars is in the eighth house, in conjunction with Saturn, and in quartile with the sun, a very malevolent aspect ! ” Upon this, they grew all madder than before. “ Damn that astrologer,” says one ; “ Curse upon his stomach,” says another ; till at last they all fell foul upon me ; only my side-captain stood up stiffly for me : I did what became a man, but it is to his bravery I owe my life ; for one of the opposite sparks made a full pass at my breast, which the noble old captain parried, with a sudden shoot of his arm athwart, and a dexterity which I can never admire enough.

I, that had neither sword nor skill in the science of fencing, thought it my part to expose my body between my seeming friends and enemies, since all the occasion of this quarrel was on my account, as an astrologer ; I leaped upon the table, and seized upon the sword of my captain’s antagonist ; I smiled upon him at the same time, and convinced him that I was not in anger ; I twisted it out of his hand, with a complaisant violence, and then the strife was appeased ; for it was not he that began the quarrel, any more than my old captain ; but the priest was wholly in the fault, who straggling out of his sphere, pretended to set up for an astrologer, and tell us things that would not square with reason.

My Dignet, thou knowest me, and all my inclinations ; thou art sensible that I cannot stoop to the magisterial dictates of error, nor the bold impositions of ignorance ; let them approach as near as they will to truth on the

back-side, they are the farther off from attaining it ; and so let thou and I enjoy ourselves in perfect tranquillity.

Paris, 17th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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IX.—To HAMLET, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

HAVING in my last spoken of the present state of Venice, wherein I omitted nothing that I thought worth thy observation, I should now in order touch upon Candia, or Crete, the most considerable island that the Venetians not long ago had under their obedience ; but since by the fate of war it is fallen into the hands of the victorious Osmans, I will say but very little of it, and pass to the other republics of Europe.

There is no doubt but since the conquest of Candia by the mussulmans, the imperial city abounds with geographical descriptions, natural, moral, and political observations on it ; but perhaps they are wanting in the history of that famous island, in regard the books of the gentiles are not much read by the true believers ; and it is from these only we can collect the ancient memoirs of the nations which were once in their own possession.

This island was once called Crete, and said to be the nursery of Jupiter, as also his sepulchre ; it obtained likewise the title of Hecatompolis, because of the hundred cities that were in it ; and some called it the island of the archers, in regard the inhabitants being taught from their infancy to handle the Scythian bow, grew so expert in that exercise, that they surpassed all other nations.

The Lacedemonians, Athenians, and other renowned commonwealths of Greece, received their laws from men born in this island, as Plato and Pliny testify ; and yet

Epimenides, one of their own poets, gives them a bad character, when he says, *Κῆρες αἰὲν ψευταὶ κακὰ δρῶντες, γάρ-  
ριστος ἄνθρωπος.*

They were much addicted also to all kinds of sorcery and enchantments, a fraudulent race of people, covetous, greedy, idle, and ignorant of ingenious arts and sciences.

Yet notwithstanding this, they were so powerful of old, that they could, as with a bridle, curb all Greece. During the reign of one of their kings, whose name was Cydon, came up the use of Pyrrhic measures, with which the youth being armed cap-a-pee, danced with great labour and sweat; and the inhabitants have all along been so tenacious of this custom, that it is observed to this day among the rustic Candiots on their holidays; for at such times the youth of the island meet together, armed with a bow in one hand, and a naked sword in the other, with a quiver of arrows hanging at their backs, and thus they will dance indefatigably in the heat of summer, even at noon-day, when the sun scorches all things with insupportable fervours.

In process of time, this island became subject to the Grecian empire, and at such fell into the hands of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Emperor of Constantinople, who gave it to the Marquis of Montferrat, by whom it was sold to the Venetians in the year 1294, for an incredible sum of money, and that republic has held it ever since, till it was lately taken from them by the invincible Ottomans.

It is worth remark, that Candia, the chief city of this isle (called Castro and Candax by the Greeks) is a place of that prodigious strength that it sustained a blockade of twenty-two years, from 1645 to 1667; and after that a siege of two years, from 1667 to 1669; in which space

of time it is thought 600000 mussulmans lost their lives before it.

The next republic in order is that of Genoa, a city whose power and empire was far greater in former times than it is at present ; for they extended their dominions even to the Black Sea, where Tanais, that parts Europe from Asia, pours her waters into the Palus Mæotis. Here they possessed the city Theodosia or Caffa, as it is called at this day ; they also made themselves masters of Cyprus, Lesbos, Chios, with other islands in the Archipelago, and even of Pera itself, that magnificent adjunct to the imperial city.

Yet from the beginning they were feudatories of the Roman empire, till the year 600 of the Christians hegira ; for then Lotharis, king of the Lombards, took the city by force, and plundered it ; but when, after some years, it had recovered its pristine glory again, Charles I. and his son Pepin, kings of Italy, and their successors the kings of France, bore rule there for almost an hundred years, placing governors in the city, who bore the title of Counts of Genoa. And when afterwards the Saracens had subdued Corfica, Ademarus (then Count of Genoa) armed out a fleet of galleys, invaded the island, and having defeated the true believers, took possession of it, and reduced it under the jurisdiction of Genoa, whose power at this time was very great by sea.

After the dominion of Charles the Great, his posterity was by degrees so diminished, that at length it became in a manner quite extinct ; the more potent among the citizens took turns to usurp the government, and exercise a tyranny over the inhabitants, which so exasperated them, that they often submitted themselves to foreign princes ; but finding still as great inconveniencies in this dependence on strangers, at last, following the example of the

Venetians, they chose to themselves a duke, in the year 1337 of the Christians hegira; him they sent with a fleet to conquer Cyprus, which he accomplished with good success; for, having taken the king and queen of the country captives, he imprisoned them, till they agreed with him for a yearly tribute to be paid to the republic of Genoa, and then he restored them to their native possession, reserving only Famagusta, the chief city of the island, to himself.

He entered also into a war with the Venetians, but being overcome in battle, at his return he was deposed from the ducal office, and thrown into prison, another being chosen in his place. This was more fortunate than his predecessor against the enemy, doing them many injuries, but at length he was killed in battle.

Then the Genoese elected another duke, who going to Constantinople, performed such eminent services to the emperor in his wars, that he gave him the island Mitylene, which the Genoese held till the year 1354.

After this they created one to rule over them under the title of Prince, in the year 1381; but not liking his government, they threw themselves upon the protection of Charles VII. King of France, who sent thither his deputy. Being soon weary of the French government, they joined themselves to the Duke of Milan, under whose patronage they lived till the year 1435, and then abdicating him, they created a duke of their own again: This raised factions in the city, whilst some adhered to the French interest, and others espoused the Duke of Milan's cause. At last they fell again under the power of the French, whom they obeyed, till Andreas d'Oria having quelled the seditions, and pacified the contentions of the Fréggi and Torni, two prevailing factions in the city, one consisting of the nobles, the other of the commons, he esta-

blished that liberty in the commonwealth of Genoa; which she has enjoyed ever since, till of late some new troubles have been given them by the Kings of France and Spain.

As to the original of the Genoese, it is uncertain. Strabo and others are of opinion that this nation descended from the Greeks, whilst Thucydides derives them from the Sicilians. They were called Ligurians by the people of Rome; and Florus mentions a certain race of Ligurians, who dwelt in the dens and caves of mountains, being a very fierce and warlike people.

But now-a-days the Genoese are a very polite and civilised people, of a lively and subtle wit, especially in merchandising, by which they greatly enrich themselves; they are also exceeding industrious, shunning no labour or danger for the sake of gain; they appear studious of those things which tend to the good of the commonwealth, yet are extremely fickle and inconstant, given to faction, and desirous of novelty, as is manifest by what I have before related of them, which occasioned a certain king of France, when one of his lords told him, "That the Genoese were about to throw themselves on his patronage," to answer, not without some indignation, "That they might go to the devil for protection; for I (says he) will have nothing to do with men who are more unstedfast than the waves of the sea."

This inconstancy never appeared more plainly than in the late conspiracy of Freggi and Torni, which had like to have proved of fatal consequence. As to Vachero and Balbi, they were like the dog in Æsop's fables, who lost the bone to catch at his shadow in the water: So these sea-myrmidons were not content with the strong party which they had made in the city, but must needs go to corrupt the navy too, which ruined all their design, for the plot was discovered by one of the sea-captains. ~~The~~

commonwealth has been afflicted with many wars and plagues, but none of either sort ever threatened it with so much desolation as the last, the one having almost exhausted their treasury, and the other as near emptied the city of its inhabitants. As for the first misfortune, the scarcity of money, they knew quickly how to remedy it, being perfect chemists, and masters of the philosopher's stone, if there be any such thing in nature; but whether there be or not, this is certain, that the Genoese are old doctors at garbling, transmuting, and adulterating of metals; and the Ottoman empire has experienced it, to the great damage of our merchants at Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and other ports, where the Genoese did put off their base coin, to the value of some millions; but this cheat may cost them dear one time or other.

The Genoese appear at present more inclinable to merchandise than to war; however, it must be confessed that this commonwealth has brought forth valiant and expert soldiers, as is evident from the families of the Dorias, Spinolas, and others, who have proved famous generals, and leaders of armies in several parts of Europe.

Of such as these has Genoa more cause to boast, than of any strong forts, castles, or fenced cities within her dominions in Italy; nay, the chief city, Genoa itself, trusts more in the King of Spain's protection than in her own strength. That monarch is indebted to the Genoese merchants eighteen millions of gold, beside the interest of \* \* \* \* \* years; for this bill was given in to him in the year 1600 of the Christians' hegira. By this thou mayest guess at the riches of this commonwealth.

As to the manner of their government, it differs not much from that of Venice, the supreme power being in the hands of the senate, who elect a duke every two years; but, out of four men who are proposed as worthy of

that high office. No man can propose any thing to the senate but the duke himself, who lives in a public palace during the two years of his government, and has a guard of five hundred Germans about his house and person.

It would be superfluous to trouble thee with an account of the judicial courts, the manner of electing the senators, and other public magistrates, with the rest of their peculiar politics; besides, I believe thou art almost cloyed with the length of this letter; wherefore, begging thee to put the best construction on my endeavours, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 17th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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X.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

I FORMERLY sent a letter to the sage Osman Adrooneth, astrologer in ordinary to the Grand Signior, wherein I informed him of a comet, or blazing star, which then newly appeared in the heavens; I took an occasion in that dispatch to venture my thoughts concerning the nature of these amazing phenomena, which so astonish the minds of mortals, and puzzle the ablest philosophers to discover their origin: From this discourse, I passed insensibly into a more general one, concerning the stars; I said what I thought was proper to one of his profession, being unwilling to offend, by too much boldness, a man esteemed the most learned and accomplished in that science of this age; for though I give little credit to judicial astrology, as it is practised now-a-days, yet it would have been an incivility to express so much to one that lives by it; and who, for his eminent skill therein, is honoured with the Grand Signior's friendship, and a noble pension;



but with thee I will take the more freedom, in respect of that intimate familiarity that has been always between us.

That the heavenly bodies have an influx on this lower world, is an article the general sense of all mankind gives testimony to, whilst every morning we rejoice to see that glorious orb of light, the sun, imprint the eastern skies and clouds with his refreshing rays ; he gilds the frontiers of the horizon, and decks the tops of mountains with cheerful brightness ; the earth, the air, and seas, participate of the virtue of his beams ; it is he gives life to plants and animals ; he renovates the elements, and every sublunary being.

So when he takes his conge every evening of our hemisphere, he still affords us light, though but at second hand ; whilst he in person makes his progress to the western continent, to cheer and recreate by his presence the remote and solitary borders of America ; fair Cynthia is his proxy here, attended on by other planets, waiting in their turns, and a whole hemisphere of fixed stars.

These shine by night, for other ends, no doubt, than merely to light the shepherds as they watch their harmless flocks, or serve as flambeaux to the wandering traveller ; yet this is comfortable in our elementary darkness. The mariner rejoices, when in the mighty waste of unknown seas, he makes a lottery of his fortune, and trusts his soul and body to a rotten skiff, where slavery and freedom, life and death, are equal chances ; when he struggles with impetuous winds, and boisterous waves, threatened on all hands by the headlong fury of the sea ; I say, he is glad at such a time to have the light his friend, though it be but the faint glimmering of the stars, that he may see the perils that encompass him, and use the properest means to avoid them. How is his heart

revived, if, in the dreadful storm, he spies but one poor chink or cranny in the close gloomy clouds through which the azure sky can show itself! And then some prosperous constellation, to appear amidst that checker-work of this low orb; and those above, makes him take courage, and defy the powers of Æolus and Neptune; he challenges the rocks and sands to hurt him, and mocks the fatal apparitions of Castor and Pollux.

Yet these, and many more inferior uses, were not all for which the stars were made; they have besides, undoubtedly, some dominion, influence, and power on earth, and all the beings dwelling on it; wherever they cast their rays, there is some material emanation felt, and efflux full of hidden magic; they dart on men and other animals, on plants and other minerals, on every thing that is compounded of the elements and does reside within the sphere of their activity; each darts, I say, its own peculiar force and virtue. It is probable that every nation, tribe, and family, each climate, province, spot, and corner of the earth, have their particular stars; so have the different species of all sublunary things, and every individual being; but how to determine their influence particularly, by divination, by calculating nativities, erecting horoscopes, and other schemes of astrology, to foretell things to come, to avoid prognosticated evils, and engross all happy events, to predict other mens fates, whilst we are ignorant of our own, &c. is a thing which appears to me beyond the power of human reason, and a science built on sand.

For who has numbered the stars, or visited the places of their different situation? who has understood their various qualities, engagements, asterisms, and obligation? their ties to one another, and their obedience to the laws of the universe? O that mortal man should presume to

diver thus far, even into the heavenly arcana, the cabinet-secrets of God Almighty! Will he be wiser than Ptolemy, Callander, Eudoxus, Archelaus, Hoychilax, Halicarnassæus, and many others, most expert mathematicians, and men of profound judgment, who have confessed, that after all their search in this science, they find it impossible to make any certain conclusion from the configurations above, in regard of the innumerable multiplicity of causes co-operating with them, to which we are wholly strangers; besides those things which oppose or favour the influence of the stars among ourselves, and with which we are very familiar, as the force of blood, customs, traditions, manners, education, prejudice, prepossession, place and time, empire and subjection, diet and discipline, finally, the freedom of mind, or its servitude; all which, they say, the stars cannot compel, but only dispose and incline.

Moreover, they who have prescribed the rules of judicial astrology, differ so extremely in one and the same subject, that there is no encouragement for a thinking man to hope ever to make a true judgment by their rules, unless he be divinely inspired within, and have a certain natural instinct, which suggests to him the knowledge of future things, or he is possessed by some presaging demon, whose whispers direct him what judgment to choose among the many that may be made upon the sight of a scheme, according to the variety of rules that have been given; and this is the opinion of the learned Hali my countryman, who has had many followers: So that after all, this boasted science will rather deserve the name of sortilegy than astrology, whilst all its dictates depend on pure conjecture, or the extempore affections of the mind; or, which is worst of all, on the afflatus of busy, interested spirits, genii, or demons of the air, who have some design

of their own to pursue, and make men their tools to execute it.

Undoubtedly they both deceive others and are deceived themselves, who practise this vain art for the sake of filthy lucre ; for if there was any thing of truth in it, how came they to fail so often and so egregiously in their predictions ? or why do they always couch their prognostications in such ambiguous terms, that, like the Delphic oracle, may be taken in which sense you please, and applied to any nation, prince, time, or person, as the astrologer shall please to comment, after something of what he has said at random may have happened ? For from that infinite variety of stars and aspects, it is very easy for a bold sophister in his art to cull out such for his turn as shall be proper to convince ignorant people that he was in the right, when he promised them long life, health, honours, riches, children, friends, power, victory, the enjoyment of their loves, and such like, or threatened the quite contrary, even just as they fall out ; but if at any time they were caught in an apparent falsehood, then they either compliment a man into a good opinion of them, by telling him, “ a wise man has dominion over the stars,” or they insult over him by a thousand contempts of his supposed folly, which they say resisted the influence of the stars, and hindered their good effect. Yet these sort of people are in chiefest request among the princes and potentates of the earth, especially in the East, where there is nothing to be done either in peace or war, without first consulting the astrologer, though really there is not a more unprofitable, not to say a more pestilent race of men in a commonwealth.

• Cornelius Tacitus, a grave author, complained of them in old time ; so did Varro, with other sincere writers ; and it was a custom in Alexandria formerly, for astrolo-

gers to pay a certain tribute, which they called fools-pence, because it was taken from the gain which the astrologers made by their own ingenious folly, and the credulous dotage of their admirers. •

My D<sup>n</sup>et, if our lives and fortunes depend upon the stars, what reason have we to be afraid of any thing? Why are we solicitous, and full of needless cares? Let us leave all things to God; and the heavens, which cannot err nor transgress the decrees of fate, will be our guarantees till death: But if our lives and fortunes are altogether independent of the celestial bodies, let us bid good night to astrology, as the vainest ape or mimic of a science that ever buffooned the world.

It was said of old by the sages of Chaldea, "That God had committed the disposal of days to Moses, and of hours to Jesus the son of Mary, but that he had reserved the moments to himself, and his last favourite." Let us therefore every minute of our lives wait on him, the Father of all things, with an entire resignation.

But there is a sort of puny-spirited men, so timorous and void of true faith, that they will rather believe any thing, though the most incongruous fictions of hobgoblins, ghosts, &c. than the dictates of solid reason; they tremble at the report of things which have no existence in nature; and whose very idea is full of impossibilities and contradictions; yet they will stand the brunt of truth with brazen foreheads, and resist the dint of rational arguments, like so many Colossuses: Hence it comes to pass, that whereas one lie is apt to take away the reputation of any honest man, so that he shall not be believed when he speaks true, on the contrary, here in our case, if an astrologer in his random predictions, by mere chance, hits upon a remarkable truth, it procures him credit for all the lies that ever he has, or can be guilty of; imperti-

nent and preposterous sort of fellows, who, whilst they pretend to know, and foretel future things, are ignorant of that which is past or present ; and when they are impudently asserting their familiarity with the houses of the twelve signs in the zodiac, know not what is done in their own homes and beds, as this epigram says :

*Astra tibi æthereo pandunt sese omnia vati ;*

*Omnibus et quæ sunt fata futura monent.*

*Omnibus est uxor, quod se tua publicat, id te*

*Astra, licet videant omnia, nulla monent.*

But that which appears most strange is, that they ascribe the very gift of prophecy to the stars, also of the origin of religions, the secrets of conscience, the power of working miracles and casting out devils, the efficacy of prayer, and even our immortal happiness or misery after this life. Thus they assert, that when Gemini is the ascendant, and in conjunction with Saturn and Mercury under Aquarius, in the ninth house, a prophet is born at that time ; and therefore Jesus the Messiah was endowed with so many matchless gifts and abilities, because he had Saturn in his configuration with Gemini.

Thus they distribute the various sects of religion that are on earth into their distinct classes, according to the different asterisms above, Jupiter being supposed the general patron of all religion. Upon this ground, they ascribe the religion of the Jews to Jupiter and Saturn, of the Chaldeans to Jupiter and Mars, of the Egyptians to Jupiter and the Sun, of the Arabians to Jupiter and Venus, of the Christians to Jupiter and Mercury, and that religion or irreligion of antichrist, which is to come, they ascribe to Jupiter and the Moon : They say also, that Moses prescribed the observation of the Sabbath from astrological grounds, it being dedicated to Saturn : They

ascribe the deluge to the influence of the stars, and the law given on Mount Sinai is in their divinity owing to the same original; they attribute the conception of Jesus the son of Mary to Venus, and his supposed death to Mars; they affirm that the Messias himself was the greatest astrologer of his time; that he made a particular choice of hours, wherein to work his miracle, and to pass through the streets of Jerusalem without receiving damage from the Jews, which made him once say to his disciples, "Are there not twelve hours in a day?" when they warned him not to go into the city on such a day, for fear of the people.

They add, that whosoever has Mars happily placed in the ninth house at his nativity, shall have power to expel demons from the possessed; and whosoever has the Moon with Jupiter in conjunction with the Dragon's Head in the zenith, and shall pray to God, whatsoever he desires shall be granted; and that immortal felicity depends on Jupiter and Saturn, if they be happily posited in Leo, for whosoever has this configuration, his soul after death being freed from infinite straits and perils, shall ascend to its original and native-seat, the region of endless liberty and bliss.

All this may be true, for ought I know, but till I have a demonstration for it, I shall dare to suspend my belief; in the mean while, this is my faith, That all things depend on everlasting destiny; whether the stars be instruments in executing the eternal decrees or no, it matters not much; all sublunary beings must obey the law that cannot be revoked.

Then suffer not thyself, dear friend, to be dismayed, or over-anxious at any thing that happens in this mortal life, but practise that ode of Horace,

Æquā memento rebus in arduis

Servare mentem : non secus in bonis,

Ab insolenti temperatam

Lætitia, moriture, &c.

Finally, my Dgnet, be moved at nothing. Adieu.

Paris, 5th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1681.

XI.—To IBRO KALPHASER EFFENDI, a *Man of Letters*  
at *Constantinople*.

I CONGRATULATE the honour thou hast, in being made supervisor of that noble work, an universal history of the world ; I wish thee and the other undertakers a whole hegira of happiness, whose date may commence with the finishing this illustrious volume.

The musti has ordered me to address to thee such farther instructions as are necessary to render the history complete, that nothing either of substance or ornament may be wanting.

I formerly sent that patriarch of the faithful a scheme or model of the whole work, which I drew up in the best manner I could, for the time that was allowed me ; now I send thee one more ample and correct ; it is inclosed in the box which comes with this, wherein thou wilt also find a large catalogue of historians, containing almost all that have written the affairs of kingdoms and empires since the beginning of the world, with their particular characters, that thou mayest distinguish such as are worthy of credit from the authors of figments : Neither art thou to wonder that I have in these papers given thee cautions how to use even some of those whom we esteem of greatest integrity and reputation ; for though they scorned to broach fables, or transmit romances to posterity, yet they



were flesh and blood as well as other men, and many times their interest or passions biased their judgment, and drew their pens into cabal with a party: Thus Herodotus himself, though otherwise a man of approved veracity, yet when he relates the wars of the Athenians, appears too partial to his darling countrymen, and lets those passages escape his pen in their favour, which are contradicted by Plutarch, and other more disinterested writers, and for which he is particularly reproached by Plutarch, in a treatise of his, intitled, Of the Malice of Herodotus.

Therefore, in cases of this nature thou art not to confide wholly in any one author, whom thou hast reason to suspect guilty of fiction in history, or supinely pass thy sentiments into those of another, without examining whether his relations be true or false; but having so great a throng of testimonies, reserve the last appeal to thyself, and let thy own judgment be the tribunal where every one's sentence is finally determined.

Thus much may serve for a direction as to the matter of the history; what concerns the several periods of time wherein things were done, authors cannot with such reason be supposed designedly faulty, as mistaken in their chronology, and those chiefly, who wrote in later times, and seem only to have collected and transcribed out of others what was for their turn: And thou wilt have reason to be particularly circumspect in what thou takest on the credit of Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Paternulus, and some others, who seem to have been too precipitate in fixing the terms and periods of time requisite to the illustrating their histories, without making a due comparison of the several epochs in use among the precedent historians, from whom they borrow their light.

In order, therefore, to the rendering this universal history the most correct, and free from error of any yet ex-

tant, to the eternal honour of the muslimans, and advantage of all mankind; it will be necessary for thee to have a right notion of all the different hegiras, or computation of years, used by divers nations, from the first invention of records to this day: These I have named in short, at the tops of columns to which they belong, in the scheme I have sent in the box; now I will explain their meaning to thee, and show which are of most import in this work, and which not.

To begin then with that era which is commonly taken for a series of the years of the world, or a computation from the supposed origin of time, thou oughtest to observe, that this is most disputable and uncertain of all other epochas, in regard it is impossible to adjust the different accounts of the Jews, Grecians, Romans, Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, and other nations, not to mention the almost eternal chronologies of the Chineses and Indians, which extend many millions of years beyond the supposed time of the world's creation.

Wishing thee therefore, in this point, to adhere to those epochas which are most commonly received in the East, we will pass to Noah's flood, wherein thou must expect no other light save what is derived from Moses and the Hebrew doctors, which has occasioned many to confound this deluge with those of Deucalion and Ogyges, mentioned by Ovid and other gentile writers: And indeed it may well start a scruple in a mind not over-credulous, how it came to pass that this universal deluge of Noah (supposing it to be such) was recorded by no other nation on earth save only by the Jews, as if it had not equally concerned all mankind to transmit to posterity the exact time of so general a depopulation of our race made by water; but so far are we from finding any such memoirs, that there are no footsteps to be traced of the bare

matter of fact, or any mention made of a flood, save those of Ogyges and Deucalion. Whence proceeded this neglect in the writers of Asia? What interest, prepossession, or prejudice, could bias the Phœnician-antiquaries, the Persian magi, the Chaldean sages, the Indian gymnosophists, or the bonzies of China, from registering such an inundation, as, if the story be true, swept away all the race of Adam from the face of the earth, except eight persons? Or shall we suppose that those eight persons combined together to conceal so great a catastrophe of human nature from their posterity, making their children believe that they were the first mortals that ever lived on earth? If so, how came the posterity of Sem to be favoured with the first discovery of the truth, and those of Japhet and Cham to remain ignorant of their father's deliverance from an all-destroying deluge?

It has been usual with the learned Nazarenes of late to cry down the writings of Manethon the Egyptian, Berosus the Chaldean, Philo the Jew, with Metasthenes, Anianus, and other authors of antiquity, because they have delivered relations which thwart the error of these modern writers: On the same score they condemn the Persian antiquaries and poets, with all the records of the East, as fabulous and not worthy of credit, because they have been more careful than other nations, especially than those in the West, to conserve the history of the first ages of the world entire, and free from corruption. But with what face will any rational man fasten this calumny on pristine Egypt, that she was the mother of fables and ignorance, which all the world knows to have been the sole nurse and seminary of science and truth? Could not she inform herself aright in the history of the world, who first taught the use of letters to other nations? Where was there any monument of antiquity that came not out of Egypt? or

what learning that was not first derived from the city of the sun? Moses himself, that renowned lawgiver of the Israelites, had his education at the feet of the Egyptian philosophers, and the whole system of his laws is but a partial epitome of their statutes, which, by adding, diminishing, and altering, he fitted to the peculiar tradition and customs of the offspring of Jacob; and why may we not suppose he did the same in the historical part of his books; particularly so far as tended to beget faith and reverence in his reader, to the sanctity of that which he celebrates under the title of the holy line, in which Noah was the Janus with two faces, one looking backward on the old world, the other forward, regarding the future ages of the new?

I speak with freedom, and after the manner of the sceptics, believing that the boldest disquisitions, even in things which are of divine assurance, are the best means to establish the truth. Let it not pass, therefore, for an argument of infidelity or atheism (which some are pleased to lay to my charge), in that I strive to recover the lost antiquities of the world out of the ruins of time and ignorance, and that to this end I even call in question those records, which, being fathered on Moses, pass for divine oracles; which contain passages repugnant to human reason, and appear infinitely more fabulous than those, which, for their sake, are condemned as such by the superstitious Nazarenes.

In all this I have not contradicted the Alcoran, which confirms the scriptures of the Old Testament, but declares at the same time, that the devil has inserted many errors into them; it is only against these errors I dispute, adorning the truth wherever I find it, though it were written in parchment made of the skin of an infidel, which thou knowest is as great an abomination as the flesh of an hog.

But to return to Noah's flood, or that of Ogyges, or Deucalion's, which thou wilt, (for as the first is an epocha of the Jews, so the two latter are remarkable eras to the gentiles) thou wilt do well<sup>e</sup> in using all three, and leave the scrutiny to others, for it will involve thee in a labyrinth of knotty disputes.

The next epocha among the gentiles is taken from the burning of Ida, whereby men occasionally found out the way to melt iron, and form it to their necessary uses; and the next to that is the translation of Ganymede; then the building of Troy; after that, the expedition of Jason to get the golden fleece; and forty-five years after that begins the great epocha of the Grecians, the first olympiad instituted by Hercules; next succeed the olympiads of Iphitus. I should have mentioned the Jewish epocha, which begins with their departure out of Egypt; but in regard this is only used by the writers of that nation, thou wilt not find it of any great import. The years of Nabonassar are of general observation; so is the epocha from the building of Rome: The era of Alexander the Great is used by my countrymen the Arabian writers; the capitoline games is an era mentioned by some Roman authors, but not of general remark.

These are all that are of any note in ancient history; for as to the Augustine years, or those reckoned from the battle of Actium, they continued not long, and are but sparingly mentioned in history. But I had almost forgot the Calippic periods, which must not be omitted, and therefore I have placed them at the top of a column in the scheme; they commence from the famous battle between Alexander and Darius at Arbela; wherein the Persians received a total defeat.

As to more modern history, thou wilt have occasion to use the Christian era, the hegira of the Arabians, and

the Persian epocha; thou must also observe the difference in the Julian and Gregorian accounts, the epocha of Dioclesian, the Spanish era; and above all things, both in the epochas of the ancient and modern history, thou must have a special regard to the different times of year wherein each distinct era begins, for they do not all commence in one and the same moon, but vary their dates from the beginning of the year to the end: The want of due care therefore in this point would breed a great confusion in an universal history, and would render its chronology intricate and obscure.

Follow the most ancient authorities, and be not discouraged at the captious remarks of modern writers; for they grope in the dark, and having set up to themselves certain supposititious land-marks, whereby to measure the age of the world, they quarrel with the ancient sages for saying it is of longer standing; as if those who are but of yesterday knew better the extent of time backwards than such as lived above two thousand years ago: Thus they retrench the primitive successions of the Assyrian monarchy, because they are dated before their Jewish epocha of Noah's flood; and in the same manner they deal with the Egyptians and Indians of the East, because those kingdoms were in being long before the time these upstarts have set for the beginning of the world.

But be not thou partial to the truth, nor swear to the words of such as have narrow conceits of God and his works. Doubtless he is omnipotent and eternal, and it is no heresy to affirm, that the universe, both in extent of time and place, is adequate to those incomprehensible characters of its architect.

Paris, 14th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1681.

XII.—*To the Wise of the Wise, the Key of the Treasures of Knowledge, the Venerable MUFTI.*

I HAVE obeyed the orders of thy sanctity, in writing to Ibro Kalphafer Effendi the student; I have dispatched to him all the necessary instructions he seems to want, together with a more ample and accurate scheme of the work to which thou hast appointed him. When the translators shall have procured the books I have named in a catalogue, there will be nothing more wanting but the compiler's care in delivering a correct chronology; wherein it will be necessary to deviate from the Nizarche and Jewish historians, who seem to have curtailed the age of the world, and represented it infinitely younger than it is in the records of the most ancient and unsuspected writers.

The ground of this error, no doubt, was partly the ambition of the Jewish nation to possess a fame of greatest antiquity, and to be accounted older than other countries, and partly the loss of such monuments and records as were extant in other nations before Noah's flood.

Of all people on the earth, the Jews seem to have been most guilty of imposing on the world an opinion of their antiquity, and aggrandising their line above all the race of Adam; and from them the error is transmitted to the Christians, who, giving a kind of implicit and blind faith to the Hebrew historians, have confined the age of the world within the compass of six thousand years, whereas, if other chronologies be true, it may, for ought we know, be above six hundred thousand years old.

The Egyptian chronicles give us an account of no less than seventeen successive dynasties or governments in that nation, before the Jewish and Christian epochas of the origin of time; the Assyrians boast of a race of kings long before Noah's flood, whose succession continued

down to the reign of Sardanapalus, without the least interruption or vacancy made by any such deluge; but the Chinese and Indians exceed all the rest of the world in the prodigious antiquity of their records; and among the latter, their bramins assert the age of the world to be little less than infinite or eternal: The laws and histories of this nation (I speak of the gentile Indians) are written in a language which is now antiquated, and has no affinity with any other speech in the world; and the books that are extant in this language assert that it was the first and primitive speech of mankind; none understand it at this day, but the priests and such as they vouchsafe to teach it to in their schools and colleges; yet this is the language wherein are written the histories of their first kings, the original of their government, and the fables of the world's immense antiquity.

Certainly it would be a deed worthy of thy munificence to procure a translation of some of these records, that so we may no longer be in the dark as to the history of that renowned nation.

And I could heartily wish our chronology in this work might receive some light from such unquestionable monuments.

The Christians declaim against every thing that does not suit with their tenets; they set up their private errors as the standard of truth, and reject whatsoever contradicts these, as fabulous and heretical. In this they act like the giant, who, when his guests were too short for his bed, caused them to be stretched out with engines; and when they were too long, he cut off their legs or heads, to make them fit for their lodging. So do the Nazarenes deal with ancient writers, and especially with such as extend the age of the world beyond their narrow epocha, resolving not to admit of any chronology which



exceeds the limits of their own; they retrench whole ages, and reduce the indefinite measure of past time to a span; they esteem the Indians as fools, easily imposed on by their crafty priests, and all the records of the East pass with them for fables, or the dreams of poets. There is no reason that the enlightened mussulmans should be their apes, and mock at oriental history, since we are taught from our cradles, "That all wisdom comes out of the East."

But they will object, perhaps, how is it possible that any records should be preserved of the times before the flood, except such as were saved in Noah's ark, since that universal inundation swept away all the rest of mankind, and must needs utterly efface their writings and monuments? To this I answer, that they cannot prove this inundation to be universal, not even out of their own scriptures, which I have narrowly examined in this point, and find the deluge limited to that part of the earth which was inhabited at that time; which verbal limitation supposes that the whole globe was neither inhabited nor drowned, or else they must allow a tautology in scripture.

Besides, it is evident, from what the Bible says concern Noah's preaching an hundred and twenty years before the flood, that this was but a particular deluge, inflicted as a punishment on that obdurate and impenitent nation where he lived, and who derided the warnings of the prophet; for it cannot be supposed that Noah wandered up and down over the face of the whole earth, to preach every where, and warn all mankind of the approaching calamity; and it would seem partial in God to send him to preach to one people only, and let the rest of the world die in ignorance. Either, therefore, there were no more people in the world than those of his own nation, or at least there were no more to be drowned; he was employed in build-

ing the ark during the time that he preached; and the alcoran makes mention of the water that boiled in Noah's pot, which are convincing arguments that he went not out of his own country; unless we will suppose he carried the ark and his pot along with him, one of which is impossible, the other ridiculous, and both of them full of absurdities.

Add to this, that it was impossible for Noah and his three sons to build an ark so big as to contain all the species of clean beasts and birds by fourteens, and the unclean by fours, and to have room enough to lay up provision sufficient to nourish his family, with such an infinite number of living creatures, some of which would multiply upon him every moon, others in a little more time, and all of them within the year that they were confined to the ark, for so long did the flood last.

It is evident then that it was but a particular deluge, and that the ark was made only large enough to contain the species of beasts and birds peculiar to that country; for if it were otherwise, another difficulty will start, how all the innumerable kinds of beasts could transport themselves from the islands and remote regions to the ark, and from thence back again to the places from whence they came, after the flood was abated and dried up?

A great deal more might be said; but this is sufficient to render it very probable, if not to demonstrate, that this was no more than a particular deluge, by which God was resolved to exterminate the infidels out of that land, even as he has inflicted judgments as terrible on other nations, destroying them by lightning, or vehement winds, or by armies of wild beasts, as the alcoran often intimates: Other histories speak of whole cities in Afric, with all their inhabitants, turned into stone in one night's time,

as a punishment of their wallowing in that vice, whose very imagination creates a horror in chaste souls.

Supposing therefore that only Armenia, or the adjacent countries, were overwhelmed in this deluge, it will be easy to suggest that the other nations, such as Egypt, China, and the Indies, might retain their chronologies uncorrupt from their original source of time.

It is of great importance to true history that this point should be thoroughly examined, and the extent of the flood adjusted; for if it could be apparently made out that Noah's flood was but such another as those of Ogyges and Deucalion, all the mists which darken antiquity would vanish, the whole firmament of chronology would become clear and serene, and we should walk in the light of the primitive ages, without being dazzled or forced to wink.

Methinks I behold this light glimmering from afar like Aurora, the cheerful harbinger of approaching day; methinks I see the splendour of historical truth rising from the Orient, and gilding the tops of those mountains, which the ignorance and superstition of some, the pride and ambition of others, have raised to hinder our prospect of the far-extended ages of the primitive world; and without rapture or hyperbole, I dare be bold to presage, that a little more knowledge in the Indian language and histories will bring those things to light which have been hid for many thousands of years from the greatest part of mankind.

Go on then, thou sacred patron of history, go on to encourage this unparalleled work; send messengers to the Indies, men of learning and prudence; let them court the bramins with the promises of inestimable rewards; let them try to win those renowned philosophers, to come with their books to the sanctuary of the world, that so this u-

universal history may transcend all that have been written before it, and that the proud contemners of the mussulmans may have this proverb common among themselves, when they would assert any thing seriously, to say, It is as true as an oracle, or as the chronology of those who believe the alcoran. Great light of the faithful, adieu.

Paris, 14th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1681.

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XIII.—To CARA FLALI, *Physician in ordinary to the Grand Signior.*

I AM now arrived to a great age, and have rubbed through many fatigues in my lifetime; I have stood the brunt of a thousand perils, and undergone much hardship; pains and afflictions have invaded me in body and soul; labour, persecution, and grief, have been the portion of my past years; now I would fain live at ease if it were possible.

Therefore I have recourse to thee, my old friend, who hast often afforded me thy counsel in time of need; I do not address for fashion-sake, or to discover the vast esteem I have for a physician, whose skilful prescriptions have so often saved my life: No, no, I am really in want of thy aid, and no man but thyself can cure me.

It is not easy for me to define my distemper, since it is heterogeneous, and complicated of many different maladies; however, it is fit that thou shouldst be informed of the particular symptoms, and the causes, as far as I can guess at them, and I can do no less than make thee in part my confessor.

Metinks I feel the reversion of my youthful vanities inherit the entail of my past pleasures, which is certainly nothing but pain and torment; those agonies which I laughed at in other men are now fallen to my own share;

the comedies of my greener years are become the sensible tragedies of my weather-beaten age.

Whilst I sweat, frown, and make a thousand grimaces at the anguish given me by the gout, stone, strangury, cholic, cramp, and other acute diseases, which excruciate me by turns, I think the divine Nemesis has appointed some devil for an inquisitor and tormentor of every bone, vein, artery, nerve, muscle, and gut in my body : Surely I am laid in the first pickle of nature's wrath ; I wish it may be the last, for I do not in the least covet her ill-will.

Then I have my successive intervals of dropsies, asthmas, dysenteries, fevers, consumptions, and God knows how many more species of sickness ; yet sometimes I am as seemingly well in health as Mörögli Zudistan, the old aga, that lived just by the obelisk in the Hippodrome, who ran away from his father in his youth, and served seventeen years in the wars of Persia, lived till he was eighty-nine years old, yet never was let blood, took physic, or was sick in all his life.

I protest it is hard for me to guess at my own constitution, or to find out the original of those different habits in my body ; yet I have a feeling sense of that myself, which I cannot express to another.

Sometimes I think there is some native and radical venom in my body, derived from the influence of malignant stars, that had the dominion at my birth, though how or why it should be so I am altogether ignorant ; neither can any astrologer, with all his schemes and heavenly figures, convince me which of the constellations or planets did me the fatal injury ; I give no credit to their antiquated tales of trines, conjunctions, oppositions, quartiles, and the rest of their Egyptian jargon ; I believe there may be something true and sacred at the bottom of astrology, but it is covered with a heap of rubbish, rules, and

observations; and they that take most pains, dig deepest, and make the narrowest search into the ruins of that noble science, shall for one genuine pearl find a thousand counterfeits, for one truth a thousand errors. It fares with astrology as it does with religion, which is canonised into innumerable sects and factions, each positively asserting that they have the only incorrupt laws of God, whereas, if you make a strict scrutiny, you shall find very little sincere piety, but abundance of profaneness, hypocrisy, and superstition.

Well, let it be how it will, whether the stars have any hand in the plot of human events or no, whether Saturn or Mars be malevolent or benign planets, it matters not much; no more does it to hear what they prate of all the various aspects and configurations of the other stars: This I am sure of, that I endure a great many pains, which, let them be derived from above or below, are very troublesome.

It is possible that all or most distempers which afflict human bodies, in so many different kinds, may be but the effects of one original indisposition, or artaxy, in our animal spirits, or some hereditary contagion in our blood, or seminal pests in our humours, which, Proteus-like, appears in different forms, masquerading it up and down our bodies, in the disguise of fevers, agues, phthysies, coughs, consumptions, rheumatisms, pleurisies, and a thousand more; or perhaps our vitals are not sound; some fall or knock, or other accident in our infancy, might put us out of frame, or the debaucheries of youth may leave their sting behind them, to chastise our riper years, and teach us wisdom before it is too late.

I tell thee in short, all my maladies, as I conjecture, owe their original to an ill-tempered spleen and vitiated hypochondria. This, as I said before, I can easily feel

within myself, but can hardly express the manner how it comes to pass, with that accuracy as is requisite to make another sensible of it; only, in general terms, I suppose it has made me extremely melancholy at some times, and as excessively merry and frolicsome at others, both which passions, thou knowest, have an ill influence on the heart, midriff, pericardium, liver, and lungs. This I have found by frequent and long experience, though I will not undertake to describe the mechanic operation of these contiguous vitals one upon another, especially to thee, who art the most accomplished and curious anatomist of this age; suffice it to say, that I have perceived within myself the violent and forcible contraction or dilatation, heating or cooling of any of these interior principal parts, to be very pernicious to my health, having an immediate influx on all the rest, and so on the blood, wherein is contained the very essence of this mortal life.

My dear physician, our bodies are perfect machines, and subject to the like mischances; if but a straw, a pin, or any such diminutive trifle, get between the wheels of a watch, it is presently disordered in its motion; the whole frame of the artificial mechanism is either at a stand, or goes too slow or fast, or at least very unevenly; so the smallest irregular passion in any of the chief members of our bodies disturbs and violates the peace of all the rest; it spoils their harmony, and makes them jar, just like a viol, when some blundering hand has new-turned the pegs, after a skilful musician had put the instrument in tune.

Besides, there is a strange chain of consequences without; our passions hurt not ourselves only, but others, and we receive again the revenge of the damage we give, for there is an eternal circulation of justice in the world: The whole universe is but a piece of clock-work, where one motion begets another to infinity, and one stop in the

meanest wheel would put all the rest to an equal stand. We mortals are parts of this grand mechanism, and have our particular shares in the disasters that happen to the whole; I, for my part, by many casual jolts of misfortune, the designed bruises of enemies, and the corroding teeth of time, am almost worn out; if thou wilt by thy skill restore me again, and put me in frame, the praise will be thy own; otherwise, the First Artist must even take me to pieces, dissolve this useless mass, and when I am thus reduced to my original element, he may new-mould my ductile substance, and hammer it to what fashion and end he pleases.

Only I beg of him rather to make me any four-footed beast than a Spaniard, a Dutchman, or a Jew, among men; for these are the scandals of human race.

Paris, 2d of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1682.

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XIV.—To ABDEL MELEC MULI OMAR, *President of the College of Sciences at Fez.*

I HAVE had to do lately with men pretending to astrology, persons of many words, and ostentatious expressions, but of little sense, and less knowledge, even in the very science they boast of. I can compare them to none more properly, than to those travellers who visit foreign countries that they may come home laden with romances and fables, with trifling remarks, and jejune observations, to make a crackling noise among the vulgar; whilst wise men laugh at their folly, in that, after all their extravagant rambles abroad, they are not able to give a rational account of any thing to the purpose, and are perfectly strangers to the place of their own nativity; so these pretended star-gazers, whilst they boast of being familiarly



acquainted with all the regions of the sky, can draw maps, charts, and figures of the remote heavens, delineate the houses of the zodiac, the course of the signs, the governments, laws, and influences of the planets and constellations, are ignorant of their own domestic region, this globe whereon they dwell; they know not the things with which they are daily conversant, much less can they penetrate into the secrets of the earth, or discover the things that are under their feet.

Wherefore, turning my back on these vain scholiasts, I approach with reverence to thee, who art accomplished in the mysteries of those worlds above and this below; I have two difficulties upon my mind, which I beseech thee to solve; the first is concerning the original of the blacks, or negroes; the other about the flux and reflux of the sea.

I was in company not long ago with an eminent physician of Paris, a person of great abilities, a searching spirit, and very curious in his natural observations; among other subjects which we discoursed of, we fell at length upon the grand division of mankind into blacks and whites, which carried us so far, as to enquire into the causes of this difference in their colour, whether it proceeded from the various heat and influence of the sun, or from the diverse qualities of the climates wherein they live, or, finally, from some specific properties in themselves, in the natural frame and constitution of their bodies.

He was of opinion, that if Adam were white, all his children must be so too; if black, all his posterity must be of the same colour; therefore, by consequence, either the blacks or the whites are not the descendants of Adam. This he endeavoured to prove by many plausible arguments; but he insisted chiefly on one experiment he had seen made, when present at the dissection of a dead negro; for he affirmed, that between the outward and inward skin

of the corpse, was found a kind of vascular plexus, spread over the whole body like a web or net, which was filled with a juice as black as ink, from whence he concluded the outward skin received its tincture; and in regard there is no such web or net to be found under the skin of a white man, it served to him as an argument that they were two different species or races of men from the very first original of mortals; nature having given the one kind an inward as well as an outward characteristic to distinguish them from the other in this diverse organisation of their bodies.

I must confess it has been my opinion a long time, that the negroes or blacks owe their colour to a far higher and more ancient original than to the curse which Noah pronounced on Cham and all his posterity, as is commonly believed; and I could even grant them to be a different race from that of Adam; for it is no new thing with me to conceive that mankind had a different original from that which is recorded in the book that goes under Moses's name; and I dare be bold to say, that that book of Genesis was either not penned by Moses, or if it were, that it has been much corrupted in after times, and that at present there is not any known true copy of it in the world; for how can we father so many incongruities as are to be found in that book on the holy prophet? Or, if he were really the author of such contradictions and absurdities, how can we believe him without forfeiting our sense? God gave us our reason to be a lamp and a prop, to light and support us as we walk through the dark and uncertain wilderness of this mortal life, not as an *ignis fatuus*, to misguide us, or a reed of Egypt which deceives him that leans on it, and causes him to fall; he has squared our faculties to the works of eternity; our native ideas of things are exact and true, till adulterated by the false

degrees of darkness, superstition, and foreign error: Thus, in my infancy, I remember I could not conceive any limit to the extent of space, nor any beginning to the age of the world; and I have retained the same notion of infinite and eternal matter ever since, even to these grey hairs; so, of the original of mankind I believe, not the narrow and partial genealogies of the Jews, who only strove to exalt themselves and their own lineage above all the nations on earth besides.

For ought I know, there were as many original proto-plasts of mortals as there are different nations, speaking various radical and material languages, obeying several forms of government, and practising distinct maxims and principles; or, it is possible the East produced one sort of men, the West another; whilst the North and the South brought forth an equal variety. Who knows the force of the constellations and heavens above, or the hidden virtues which exhale from the depths below? These may differ as the climates do; and the first ingredients of the earth might all be marked with the various affections, passions, and dispositions of her then common parent; even as children are now-a-days stigmatised with the lust of a teeming mother.

O that it were possible with Theseus to descend into the bowels of this globe, and come up alive and safe again! that we might dive into the abysses below, and visit the caverns of perpetual darkness! that we might creep along by the roots of the ancient mountains, or through the channels of mines a thousand miles beneath the surface! There would I seek for the fountains of hidden waters, which run to and fro in the veins of the earth; I would find out the subterranean seas, lakes, and rivers, which feed our upper ocean with its briny floods; and perhaps,

there I should discover the true cause of the flux and reflux of the sea, which has so puzzled all philosophy.

•Tell me, thou sage of sages, can all the fountains, rivulets, mighty channels, lakes, and seas, which we see on the superficies, be constantly supplied only by showers from heaven, which in some places fall very sparingly, or not at all? Could the constant regular tides and ebbs be still maintained by the uncertain fickle rains and snows? Or is there not an eternal circulation of waters through the various hollowneſſes of the earth?

•In a mine at Bern in Switzerland, about 230 years ago, there was found a whole ship 50 fathom deep, with all its tackle, and the dead bodies of many seamen: I ask, How that ship came there?

Who can give me an account of the many whirlpools, voragos, and Charybdises there are in diverse seas? There is one on the north of the world; not far from Muscovy, forty miles in compass, which when the tide comes in, swallows up all the sea with an insupportable noise, above that of thunder, with ships, fish, and whatsoever else comes within that fatal stream; then at the ebb it throws them up again with equal fury. Doubtless, there are innumerable such devouring jaws of the earth under the various bottoms of the sea; and I will never trouble myself any farther for the solution of this grand scruple, which cost the Stagyrice his life.

Venerable sage, tell me thy opinion of these things; for I could bring instances enough to write a volume on this subject; but I am brief with thee who canst not improve by any thing I can say; who write this as one that begs instruction, and not to teach or inform, an oracle.

•Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1682.

XV.—*To the KAIMACHAN*

**H**ERE is a race of infidels newly started in France, who, if they be left alone, may, for ought I know, in time depopulate not only this kingdom, but the whole earth; a society of miscreants, forcerers, magicians, witches, and I know not what; they secretly steal children away from their parents, and offer them in sacrifice to demons; their blood they save to compound horrible poisons and execrable enchantments. The bread of Paris and other cities is become like the fruit of the tree Zacon, which overshadows the centre of hell, full of deadly venom; the fountains of once living and refreshing waters are now tainted with the contagion of Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus; there is no safety in eating or drinking; men choose to perish by hunger or thirst, rather than taste the very fruits of the earth; they undergo a voluntary famine in the midst of infinite plenty; and whilst there is an affluence of all things which use to support our mortal life, people complain of scarcity, and die for want of wholesome food.

In the mean while, nobody can tell the meaning of it: but a diligent inquiry is made: Some are arrested on suspicion, others are convicted by undeniable evidence, yet will confess nothing; they prove them guilty in matter of fact, and put them to more than the common tortures, but can extort not a syllable from them, which shall discover their accomplices, or reveal the bottom secret of this nefarious practice.

Arise! arise! arise! Medea, Circe, Esculapius, or some other powers more expert in nature's hidden force! Arise, I say, and prop the fainting relics of human race. New deaths invade the world, men speak, seem stout, they walk the streets, are merry, brisk, and gay; and yet

the height of laughter, down they drop and die. This is very strange; but more so it is, that even after death, when they are cold, their chops remain still distorted in the same comical figure, not much unlike the statue of the satyr which stands behind the gate of the women's apartments in the seraglio.

I have indeed read of a fruit, which whosoever tastes, will die laughing; and of the torpedo, which if any man touch, though with a staff or pole in his hand, immediately it benumbs him, and takes away his sense of feeling: But I always ascribed these stories to the romantic humour of Piny, or at least of those from whom he collected the pleasant paragraphs of his natural history; but now I am convinced that it is possible these things may be true.

In a word, I tell thee plainly, that were it not for honest Eliachim the Jew, poor Mahmut must starve himself; for I would rather die weeping and famishing, deploring and lamenting the miseries of human life, than pass to Orcus in an artificial good humour only framed by the force of poisons and charms. But Eliachim and all the Jews are singular in their diet; they take care not to be polluted by abominable infidels; they will not eat the bread of the Christians, nor taste of their flesh; the law of Moses forbids it, and they are very curious in observing it; they have their corn-merchants, millers, bakers, butchers, poultryers, and fishmongers, by themselves, their fruiterers also, and such as serve them with water, wine, or any other beverage, they will not easily be cheated of their lives, through the complaisance of what they call good nature; neither French nor Dutch, Italians nor Spaniards, shall impose upon them; they eat and drink more nicely (I speak of the better sort) than the infidel kings of the earth.

Herein lies my safety amidst the common danger ; I never eat or drink, of late, but at Eliachim's house ; for I dare not ; so well-grounded are the fears of poison in the society of Nazarenes at this time in Persia.

By the God of my fathers, and my God, I would not willingly go down to the shades in a vehicle of atamala, xerim, or any other subtle eastern opiate ; I would rather fairly stand the fate of a bullet, dagger, sword, or any thing that with candour threatens us above-board ; but to be sneakingly undermined, circumvented, &c. goes against the grain, by the wounds of Mahomet, which he received before the holy flight.

“ O Ali, Ali ! this oath brings thy fame to my remembrance. Who durst stand against the sword of Ali when he was in his wrath ? Ali, the true successor of the prophet !

Do not take me for a kylibaschi, heretic, infidel, &c. for I am of an untainted race, a true believer, a mussulman in all senses ; but I hate fanaticism and factious bigotry : Though we hate the Persians, and pursue them as incorrigible heretics, may we not love and honour the caliph whom they follow ? So we are professed enemies to the Christians, and yet we reverence Jesus the son of Mary, the Christians Messias.

But to return to the French ; the king has erected a kind of inquisition-court, which is called the Chamber of Poisons : Here all persons suspected of these diabolical practices are examined, and put to the torture ; also, millers, bakers, butchers, fruiterers, vintners, and other trades, which sell any thing to eat or drink, are sworn in this chamber, and undergo a severe scrutiny ; so do physicians, druggists, and apothecaries. Edicts are daily published, whereby “ all persons pretending to a spirit of divination, &c. are commanded forthwith to depart the

kingdom under the penalty of death." It is ordered also, "That whosoever has abused any sentence of the written law, in making of enchantments, spells, charms, or any thing beside or beyond the force of nature, shall be severely punished." The same edict forbids all use of poisons, unless they be such as are ingredients of wholesome medicines, and help to compound those physical preparations which are necessary to conserve the life of men; and that even these shall not be sold to any person whatsoever, but only to those who by their art and profession are obliged to make use of them." Abundance of care is taken both by the state and the church, by public magistrates and private persons, to discover the authors of these inhuman tragedies, and to prevent the like for the future; every man's eye is upon his neighbour, and they of the same house are jealous one of another; the father suspects and narrowly watches the motions of his son, and the mother will not trust the daughter of her delight; children are wary of their parents, and one brother or sister dares not eat or drink any thing prepared by another; neither the ties, nor even the sacred bonds of friendship itself, are sufficient to conquer men's fears and apprehensions of being poisoned. •

In the mean while, the inhabitants of Algiers have felt a terrible blow from the French arms; for the King of France having received some affront from these corsairs, gave orders to the *Sieur de Quesne*, lieutenant-general of his naval forces; to go and bombard their city; which was performed accordingly, in the beginning of the 9th moon; and that bold warrior threw so many bombs into the town, that he ruined a considerable part of it, overthrew the principal mosque, and killed many thousands of men; which obliged the Algerines to become humble



supplicants for peace; and it was granted them on certain conditions, advantageous enough for France.

This monarch is wholly addicted to war, in which also he is no less expert than he is in matters of state; and he loves to see his subjects follow his example. To this end he has lately established two seminaries, one in the citadel of Tournay, the other in that of Metz, where a certain number of cadets or younger brothers, who can prove themselves descended of noble blood, are educated at the king's charge, and taught the method and art of fortifications, with other exercises of military discipline.

This is a great encouragement to the young gentry and nobles, and fills them with glorious emulations, every one being ambitious to excel another in these heroic arts; and the king will never want for able soldiers to serve him in any station at home or abroad.

Illustrious kaimacham, this is all the news I can at present send thee. May God protect thee and all the true faithful from the sly attempts of magicians, witches, and poisoners. As for me, I know not how long I shall escape their snares; but I will be as cunning as I can. Sage minister, adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 7th Month, of the Year 1682.

#### XVI.—To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.

I RECEIVED a dispatch yesterday, signed with thy name, but not written by thy own hand, nor in thy accustomed style; and yet there is no mention made of sickness, a broken arm, or any other misfortune, which might hinder thee from penning it thyself, which fills me with abundance of doubts and scruples. If the palsy, or any other disease, has taken from thee the use of thy limbs, I hope

it has not deprived thee of thy reason; that faculty would have prompted thee to explain this mysterious way of correspondence, by the same hand which wrote the letter. I know not what to think of it. It was very odd thus to leave me in the dark; and thou canst not blame me, if in this obscurity I stumble upon suspicious thoughts. I am not jealous of thy fidelity, though such a conduct as this would make a man fear the worst; but I rather apprehend the effect of thy credulity and negligence. In a word, I am afraid lest some prying busy-body has got a glimpse of our secret business and mutual intelligence, and so put this trick upon me in thy name, to see what answer I will make, which they may think easy to do, by intercepting the letters which are addressed to thee by the post; to prevent which, I send this by a private messenger. We cannot be too cautious in such cases, where one falsestep betrays all, and lays our designs open to the world.

I conjure thee to be very plain and particular in thy next; satisfy me in all things; for I am very anxious at present; my mind is full of thorns and briars; I shall not write to any of the sublime ministers, till I have thy answer by the same messenger I send; therefore dispatch him with expedition.

As to Count Tekeli's business, if this information be really thy own, and not sent by some sly interloper, I like the project well enough, and will communicate it to the grand visier, or the kaimacham, without taking notice of thy oversight in putting me to this fright and trouble. The count has a good character among the French, who are no friends to the house of Austria, or enemies to the Grand Signior. This is certain, now spirits must be raised in room of those who are taken away; for conspiracies of this nature must not be given over upon every discouragement! Care must be taken, that the Hunga-

rian faction be constantly supplied with fresh and active heads, like the hydra, as fast as the old ones are cut off; and I know not where they could have pitched upon a more likely man than Count Tekeli: He comes of a good parentage, and his ancestors were all along patriots, and sticklers for their country's liberties; they ever opposed the tyrannous encroachments of the house of Austria.

Carcoa's journal relates many remarkable passages of the Tekelis, whose castle, he says, was the usual rendezvous of all the malcontent lords in those parts, who were weary of the German yoke; there they caballed, and held their private consults, there they hatched their plots against the emperor. I read this journal daily, finding no small pleasure in it, and abundance of profit; for it contains select memoirs of diverse curious transactions and events that happened both in public and private, during his residence at Vienna; and I take the greater delight in reading him, because his style is very short, yet comprehensive; familiar also and free, without impertinencies, or solecisms; he gives not one the fatigue of dwelling long upon a period, to hammer out the sense by attentive study, but he couches his words like a train of gunpowder, which is no sooner lighted at one end, but in an instant the other catches the flame; so you can hardly cast your eyes on three words at the beginning of a paragraph or sentence in Carcoa's journal, but you anticipate his scope in all the rest. This argues a great serenity of spirit in the author, and an elegance not to be met with but in a mind void of clouds. Besides, he relates no trivial matters, or tales fit only for women and boys, but he treats altogether of weighty and important affairs, intrigues of state, remarkable strokes of war, subtle overtures of peace, which he gracefully intermixes with parallels of history, with characters and descriptions of

countries and their inhabitants, and finally, with philosophical, moral, and political remarks, all very agreeable and pleasant.

Nathan I counsel thee to imitate his example, and leave some memorial behind thee of thy industry and virtue. To this end, apply thyself at spare hours to reading; but be sure use caution in the choice of books, else it is but time mispent; be curious in searching out the most excellent treasures; for vain and trifling subjects are fit only for the fire; have a special regard to the credit of such historians as fall in your way; bestow not a moment on those that are not authentic, lest old time call thee to an account for the waste; then accustom thy pen to make epitomes, abstracts, and collections out of what thou readest; and learn to be nice and cleanly in thy language; a squalid style turns the stomach of a reader, whereas polite expressions whet his appetite, and cause him to devour whole volumes with a gust.

After all, I bid thee farewell; and advise thee not to neglect the Grand Signior's business, but mind the main chance.

Paris, 5th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1682.

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#### XVII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

I SHALL now acquaint thee with an accident, which extremely surprised me when I first heard of it, and has still left me in confusion. About seven weeks are passed since I received a letter, dated as from Vienna, which Nathan Ben Saddi subscribed; but I presently perceived it was not his own hand-writing, which made me very uneasy and full of careful thoughts; for it contained matters of importance, secrets of the Hungarian league, with a par-

ticular project relating to Count Tekeli, a great lord in that country.

I considered, that if the letter were written with Nathan's knowledge, and by his order, he could not be so forgetful as not to bid the scribe, whoever he was, give me an account of the reasons which hindered him from writing to me himself; for he must needs imagine I should be troubled, and in no small astonishment, to find matters of that dangerous consequence addressed to me in an unknown hand, under his name; or else I thought he took me for a man that made no reflections on things. I knew not well what to conclude, amidst so many probable uncertainties.

However, I was resolved to act more securely, and with greater caution on my side, in order to a right information in this mystery; wherefore, not daring to trust the posts, I dispatched away a private courier to Vienna, one in whom I can confide, with ample instructions, and a letter to Nathan Ben Saddi, wherein, among other things, I desired him to tell me the meaning of this conduct.

My messenger is honestly and safely returned again to Paris, but no Nathan Ben Saddi to be heard of: All the account he could learn of him was, that about eight weeks ago he went out of his house with a stranger who pretended business with him at the bourse or exchange; but neither he nor the stranger have been seen or heard of since; only they said, that a day or two after Nathan was missing, there was the dead body of a man seen floating in an eddy of the Danube, hard by the bridge, but the face was so mangled and disfigured with wounds and slashes, that it was impossible for any to distinguish or discern who it was; yet Nathan's friends were apt to suspect it was he himself, and that he had been privately murdered, and afterwards thrown into the river.

This is the substance of what my messenger could learn of him ; and he was forced to use abundance of caution in inquiring so far ; lest by being less reserved he might have brought himself into trouble, run the hazard of being put to the torture, and discovering what I intrusted him with, besides other inconveniences.

Praise be to God, he escaped all scrutiny, and is come back safe with my letter ; but what is become of that Jew God knows. Perhaps some of his own nation have made him away privately, to prevent his turning mussulman ; for he was unsettled in his religion, and if, amidst his waverings, he seemed to have any particular bias stronger than ordinary, it was that which inclined him to the faith of true believers ; and if he perished on this account, we ought to esteem him as a martyr of God and his prophet. But I must confess, I that well knew the shallowness and inconstancy of Nathan's temper, with the superstitious attach which he ever had for his rabbis, have hardly faith or charity enough to believe his zeal for the alcoran would carry him to martyrdom ; neither can I forbear thinking there's something worse in it.

But all this which seems so strange to me, may be well known to the ministers of the august Porte, by whose order, perhaps, he has received a secret death, as a chastisement of some crimes they have found him guilty of, and which they could not inflict openly, in a country of enemies and infidels ; or, it may be, he has privately withdrawn himself, to prevent such a punishment, being conscious that he deserved it. Be it how it pleases God and my superiors, I humbly crave advice and instructions about the ordering my bills and other matters. Sage kaimacham, adieu.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1681.

## XVIII.—To DGNET OGLOU.

**T**HIS comes to thy hands by the same post with one to the kaimacham; therefore I pray thee be quick in executing the contents of it. I have not one friend in the seraglio whom I dare trust with such a secret; thou art my only refuge, at a juncture which requires fidelity, prudence, and a dexterous conduct in diving and searching into a certain mystery, which, for ought I know, may concern my life.

To tell thee, in short, Nathan Ben Saddi, the sultan's agent incognito at Vienna, a Jew by descent and religion, is, I fear, privately murdered by some order from the divan; but for what reasons I know not, unless it were in compliance with the old maxims of the sublime Porte, which seldom suffer any slave to go to his sepulchre in peace, who has served the Grand Signior many years in any eminent station. He has been missed at Vienna these eight weeks; and within a day or two after his first absence, the body of a dead man was found floating on the Danube, but so disfigured with wounds, as it could not possibly be known who he was, which gives me the greater suspicion that it was he; and if so, I may expect to be served to myself in a little time; for my turn is next.

Therefore, if thou hast any love or friendship for me, be watchful on my behalf; attend the whispers of the court, and observe the language of those who discourse with their fingers ends. The cast of the eye many times discovers the secret sentiments of the heart; so does a shrug of the shoulder, a pout of the lip, or any other artificial gesture; they are all significant, and expressive of what affections and thoughts we harbour within. Thou knowest how to act the mute upon occasion, as well as any in the seraglio; I conjure thee to use great dexterity, and

no less expedition in unravelling this secret; feign to know something more than thou dost, that so thou mayest really learn what I would have thee know concerning Nathan's fate, and mine too, if possible. Let no cold indifference make thee neglect this due care of thy friend's interest and life; we were born to serve one another with mutual zeal and fidelity; the good offices thou dost me are but just, to be repaid again with others, whenever opportunity presents itself. But these arguments are superfluous; thou needest no spurs to do a generous action; I know thou lovest me, and wilt be active at this juncture on my account.

In full and entire confidence of this, I take my repose under the shadow of the divine mercy, begging of God to afford thee a shelter in time of peril; and that when thou and I have weathered all the tempests of this mortal life, we may triumphantly enter the port of paradise, and enjoy one another in eternal felicity.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the year 1682.

FINIS.

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